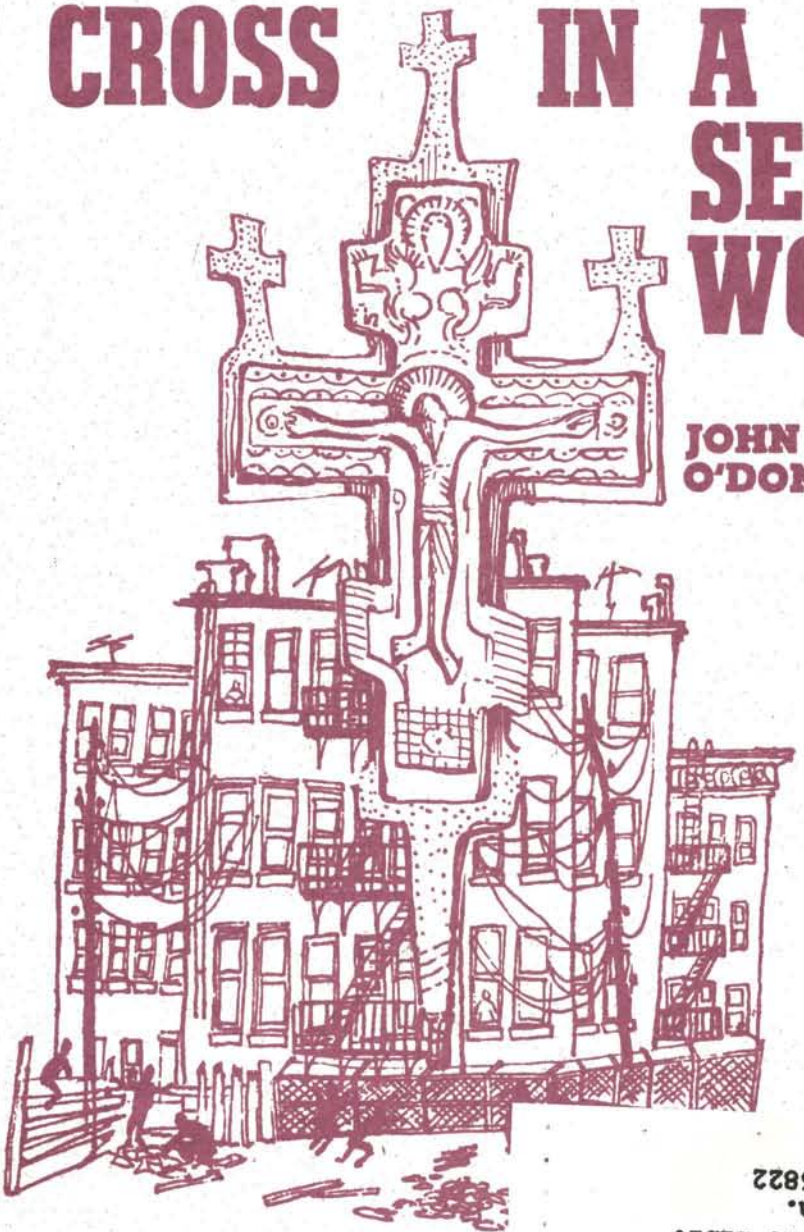
Vol. CIII No. 8 April 9, 1976 60 cents

commonweal

THE CROSS IN A SECULAR WORLD

JOHN J. O'DONNELL



St. Charles Sem. Libr.
Carthagena Sta.
Celina, Oh. 45822
AG-24003 12-75 12-76

ALSO:

JOSEPH P. CARNEY
SISYPHUS
PETER STEINFELS
JORDAN BISHOP
ARMAND SCHWAB, JR.
BERNARD BERGONZI
THOMAS POWERS
MARK TAYLOR
COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR.
NORRIS MERCHANT
WAYNE ANDREWS
DENNIS VELLUCCI

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NEWS & VIEWS

Which Came First . . . ?

There were red faces at the Vatican after several Italian newspapers and magazines called attention to striking similarites between passages in the Declaration on Certain Questions Concerning Sexual Ethics, issued last January by the Congregation of the Doctrine of the Faith, and an earlier book, *Life and Christian Virtue* by Cardinal Pietro Palazzini.

Cited particularly were parallelisms involving paragraphs 8 and 9 of the Declaration expressing the Church's traditional condemnation of homosexual acts and masturbation.

Said the weekly magazine, *L'Espresso*: "After nearly eight years of work," the Vatican Congregation apparently could do "no better than to reproduce a text of something already published."

The Vatican press sped out a statement, professedly at the request of Cardinal Palazzini, to the effect that the egg came before the chicken. Or is it vice versa?

In any case, the statement noted that Cardinal Palazzini—then Msgr. Palazzini—was a consultor to the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith when preparatory work began on the Declaration.

"Having kept notes of the first draft," the statement quoted the cardinal, "I used them in writing about specific points so as not to stray from the line which I knew to be largely shared by the Congregation—a line which apart from anything else conforms to the 2,000-year-old tradition of Christian ethics.

"If, however, there is some dependence," he pleaded, "it is mine on the document and not the other way around."

There were those who felt that he protested too much . . . not his innocence; his alleged plagiarism.

Alas and Alack

Henry VIII, understandably, is no great favorite with Women's Lib. Douglas Woodruff, writing in *The Tablet* of London, has unearthed another black mark against him:

"In his regulation about reading the Bible, chained in churches or elsewhere, he encourages it for all men except servingmen, but only for women of the upper class, of education and leisure to instruct themselves so that they do not misunderstand what they read."

God & British TV

Sunday evenings between 6:15 and 7:50 o'clock is known in British television as the "God slot," that "aimless" time when, in *The Economist*'s words, pundits, parsons and pop stars are supposed to keep young and old aware of the religious dimension of life.

Recently, the BBC got the green light from the Central Religious Advisory Committee (CRAC) to cut that time period and compensate by giving religion a solid half-hour "at a decent time later on in the evening."

A controversy has now developed over the swap. CRAC is demanding that religion have the same total TV time; the BBC is holding for "less, but better" time.

The bargaining proceeds, with conservative "churchmen" fearful that the halving of the "God slot" is the beginning of the end of religion on British television.

No one, however, appears to be paying conservatives much mind. They think back to the early 1950s when conservatives resisted the very idea of Sunday religious programming on grounds that it could cut attendance at church services and Sunday school.

The Mails

The showdown nears on the U.S. Postal Service, says *Gallagher Report*, what with the projection of a $1.4-billion deficit for the current fiscal year (despite January's 30 percent hike in first-class rates and boosts in other classes), and with service cutbacks for 25 major cities.

GR, a newsletter for marketing, sales, advertising and media executives, sees the confrontation leading to radical changes in the Postal Service over a three-to-five-year period. *GR*'s predictions:

—Reinstatement of USPS as a subsidized government service, instead of a profit-oriented business;

—An increase in the number of mail classifications (e.g., business mail — zip coded, legible, standard-sized, pre-sorted—to be separated from consumer correspondence);

—A revised rate structure for first-class delivery, with a sliding scale of rates pegged to distance the letter travels;

—A service charge for at-door delivery (current estimates place annual delivery costs at up to $80 per household vs. $19 for pick-up at post office "cluster boxes").

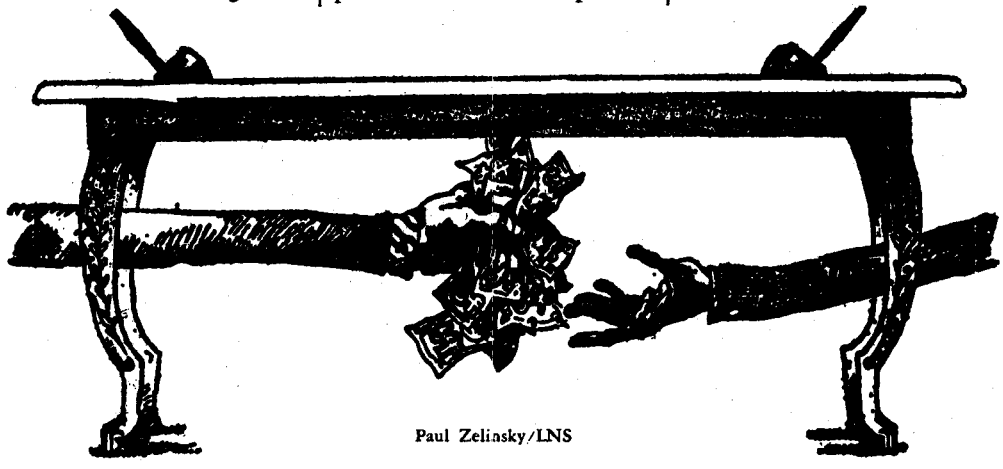
Under consideration at the same time is a further revision of rates, which, says *GR*, could triple the average second-class mail costs.

Odds and Ends

—After a six-month trial run, movie theaters in Nashville have stopped the playing of the national anthem before movie showings. Seems the practice started fights between those who stood and those who sat. One manager observed that in the affluent parts of Nashville, nearly everyone rose for the anthem, while elsewhere almost no one stood up. "I guess the more affluent sections of town feel better about the country," he observed.

—Stanford University students recently changed their athletic teams' nickname, voting out "Indians" after 40 years for being offensive and a caricature. Voted in as the new nickname was "Robber Barons." Stanford is named for its founder, Leland Stanford, a nineteenth-century railroad mogul.

JOHN DEEDY



Paul Zelinsky/LNS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CORRESPONDENCE

JFK et al.

Logansport, Ind.

To the Editors: Peter Steinfels' article, "The Kennedy Affair(s)" [Jan. 30], establishes the author as a front-runner in the Bad Taste Sweepstakes of this Bicentennial year.

Only those who yearn for the old *Confidential* style of journalism . . . to use the term loosely . . . or hard core Kennedy haters could have taken seriously the insinuations and generalities of the *Time* article, which was a cheap shot at best.

As Pierre Salinger and others have noted, the threat of the possible candidacy of Ted Kennedy was undoubtedly the motivating force behind this sophomoric bit of mudslinging.

But apparently this demands more political sophistication than Steinfels can muster. BILL MCTAGGART

Overland Park, Kan.

To the Editors: Peter Steinfels made a brave try at analyzing people's reactions to the "Kennedy Affairs" [Jan. 30]. The glossy, multi-page spreads he mentions depicting the beautiful Kennedy story in our national magazines had religious connotations too. Before I grew to the stage of at least trying to absorb the intellectual content of magazines like *Commonweal* I was a faithful reader of Catholic literature geared toward the average or even mediocre. The theme was almost always what a privilege it was to have these beautiful, cultured, educated, famous (and supposedly holy) individuals in the Catholic Church. Later it was revealed that "this couple" wasn't really happily married, or "an actress" hadn't been to confession or communion in years etc.—which was nobody's business but theirs—but, they were projected as Catholic examples high above the common herd.

By the time the Kennedy worship cult made its appearance I felt a bit guilty because I couldn't equate JFK

(Continued on page 254)

NEWS & VIEWS: 226 **CORRESPONDENCE: 227**
EDITORIAL: 227
WASHINGTON REPORT: Unequal Treatment of Unequals: *Sisyphus* **228**
THE BERGMAN AFFAIR: *Armand Schwab, Jr.* **229**
SITTING ON THE LID: *Jordan Bishop* **231**
DEATH COMES TO LIFE: *Peter Steinfels* **232**
THE CROSS IN A SECULAR WORLD: *John J. O'Donnell* **234**
ANGOLA: A BICENTENNIAL REFLECTION: *Joseph P. Carney* **236**
PRESS: Schorr and a Free Press: *Thomas Powers* **241**
THE SCREEN: *Colin L. Westerbeck, Jr.* **243**
WM. SHAKESPEARE, ESQ.: *Mark Taylor* **245**
WAR AS LITERARY EXPERIENCE: *Bernard Bergonzi* **247**
BOOKS: *Norris Merchant, Wayne Andrews, Dennis Vellucci* **249**
ILLUSTRATIONS: *Front cover: nineteenth-century Russian peasant crucifix superimposed on drawing by Rita Corbin*

JAMES O'GARA: *Editor* JOHN DEEDY: *Managing Editor*
RAYMOND A. SCHROTH: *Associate Editor* ANNE M. ROBERTSON: *Editorial Assistant*
COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR.: *Movies* JOHN FANDEL: *Poetry*
BRIAN WICKER: *Great Britain* ALAIN WOODROW: *Paris*
HENRY TEN KORTENAAR: *Rome* JOHN COONEY: *Dublin*
EDWARD S. SKILLIN: *Publisher* JOHN BRUBAKER: *Advertising Manager*
Staff: MILDRED COOK, LINDA F. KAYLER, PAMELA J. WALSH, HARRIETTE BALSKY

COMMONWEAL
A review of Public Affairs, Literature and the Arts. Second class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Printed in the USA and published bi-weekly by Commonweal Publishing Co., 232 Madison Ave.; New York, N.Y. 10016; telephone: (212) MU 3-2042. Copyright © 1976 Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc.—US and Canada: $15 a year. Foreign $17. Single copies 60c.

Commonweal is indexed in Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature, Catholic Periodical Index, and Book Review Digest. Microfilms from Vol. 1, 1924, to date available through University Microfilms; 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Mich.; 48106. National Serials Data Program No.: ISSN 0010-3330.

CARTER, BROWN AND GOD

God, after 16 years in semi-retirement, is reported ready to return to presidential politics. When He last appeared the "religious issues" were freedom of conscience and the relationship between church and state. In this election the discussion has become more subtle and personal, as a new nervousness ripples through the electorate when a candidate talks about his relationship with God. Nevertheless, we welcome His reappearance; for, even though religious issues are as open to passion and confusion as busing and gun control, perhaps He is an issue that will give a little more life and depth to an otherwise dispirited campaign.

Paradoxically, while our Constitution guarantees the separation of church and state and our dominant cultural values are increasingly secular—even pagan—we remain, in some ways, the Western world's most religious people. Deep in many Americans, sometimes only on the level of instinct, is the conviction that this nation has an Agreement with the Creator, that it is struggling to fulfill an eternal destiny. It is an Agreement which the nation often forgets, perverts and breaks: we deprive laborers of their wages, increase the power of the Pharisees, elect crooks, neglect the sick and old, beat plowshares into swords, plot murders, squander our talents and mass-produce an infinite variety of golden calves. Then, brought down by either emptiness or guilt, we look for leaders who can restore us to grace. Not call us to repentance—that's what George McGovern tried four years ago—just restore us painlessly to grace.

With this in mind, in spite of the tendency of politics and religion to mix badly, it is probably good that two presidential candidates—Jimmy Carter and Jerry Brown—are stirring up God talk. They speak from very different traditions. Carter's religious context is Southern Baptist, evangelical, unsophisticated in its theology, usually individualistic in its piety and ethics

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rather than inspired by the social gospel movement that brought liberal Protestantism and Catholicism into social reform. Yet, Carter, true to form, resists a religious category; he also reads Paul Tillich and Reinhold Niebuhr, and is shepherded by the liberal editor of *Christian Century*.

Jerry Brown's context is scholastic, Ignatian, intellectual, influenced by the Catholic concept of social justice, ascetical, eastern mystical, and pragmatic. In an interview in *Rolling Stone* [December, 1974] he says that "real freedom comes from self-discipline and self-awareness," that he is a "contemplative in action." In *Playboy* he says he still retreats to Trappist and Zen monasteries, and that *Playboy* itself "tends to create an image of self-indulgence that is becoming increasingly inappropriate and ultimately inconsistent with the survival of this country." His *Playboy* interviewer, Robert Scheer, perhaps reflecting his magazine's inability to recognize any religious motivation as authentic, concludes: "He represents the ultimate Americanization of religion: Brown has turned religion's therapeutic qualities toward the most obsessed and pragmatic of secular goals."

At least Brown has told his listeners something they didn't want to hear. God and morality talk does make people uncomfortable. It should. If we have any objection to Carter's public piety it is that it is not disturbing enough.

WASHINGTON REPORT

UNEQUAL TREATMENT OF UNEQUALS

Harold Laski, writer of the "grammar of politics" for use by the British Labor Party, repeatedly pointed out in his day that governments respond to those private economic groups which know how best to make felt their wishes.

A couple of contrasting affairs substantiate his view. One is the bribe-and-kickback program of American corporations doing business abroad. The second is the food-stamp program for hungry Americans. The bribing corporations, such as Lockheed, are doing well abroad; the hungry at-home are about to be placed on shorter rations if a punitive bill, as now written, is approved by the Congress and President Ford.

The corrupting overseas activities of our corporations are known to be widespread, as a result of studies made by the Security and Exchange Commission, an Executive Branch agency, as well as a select committee on intelligence activities headed by Senator Church of Idaho. For many years, American corporations have been promoting sales by making payments to a variety of foreign nationals who are judged to know the conduits leading to key government officials. Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, according to one estimate, has distributed bribes and kick-backs of approximately $25 million in several countries, including Italy. Other aircraft manufacturing firms and petroleum companies are also being investigated on the basis that these, too, do business the same way abroad as does Lockheed.

Lockheed's actions, of course, raise a question as to whether it and similarly inclined American-based corporations or the United States government is the helmsman of our foreign policy. One wonders.

Lockheed tried to circumvent our Government's prohibition against providing the Air Force of Indonesia with airplanes, in this case the C-130 cargo craft. Lockheed sought to do this by providing the planes to an Indonesia airline, which in turn would . . . This aircraft manufacturing corporation sought to create support in the Philippines for its government to buy C-130s instead of accepting our offer to supply surplus military transport planes of ours. A similar effort in Japan by Lockheed has caused all sorts of problems after it was exposed. The Japanese government seeks to subpoena Americans, for example, in connection with the scandal. Members of the Senate investigating subcommittee were startled to learn last summer that bribes to Italian political parties included the Communist party.

The United States government asserts it opposes such goings on. However, this is difficult to be believed by many in other countries where there is, in fact, little or no private enterprise. Even if other governments were inclined to believe our government, it becomes more difficult, if not impossible, because American corporations selling abroad often hired retired American military officers to help make the sale by whatever means necessary.

The illegal actions of corporations doing business abroad make it difficult for us to narrow the gap between promise and performance in our relationships with other countries. Corporation executives, summoned to Washington to explain themselves, suggest that the corrupting practice would be dropped if all businesses would stop the wrong-doing. However, until that golden day, they say, these practices continue.

A Senator heard a variant of this explanation at a hearing last September and said comparably that if his opponent is stuffing the ballot-box, then "I had better damn well" do it, too. The witness, a corporation official, denied that he had stuffed any ballot boxes!

The Senator replied: "You have done a hell of a lot

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

worse than stuff a ballot box. In my mind, you may have corrupted the system completely."

Some of the offending firms have sent some of their executive officers packing, as a result of the disclosures. But it is not clear that the practice of bribery *et al.* has ended. Perhaps, set aside for awhile, but not ended. And, of course, the exiled executives aren't reduced to buying food with the aid of food-stamps.

Millions of Americans are, however. Partially because of economic bad times, there were nearly 20-million Americans benefiting in mid-summer of last year from food-stamps. The cost of the program was said to be approximately $6.6-billion. Newspapers around the country seem to enjoy publishing abuses, which, of course, do exist. Particularly, unusual ones. A favorite of editors is that of a 65-year-old widow who has a fur coat, perhaps even a mink one, although it's 40 years old, in tatters and doesn't fit her aged body.

There is expected an effort in the Congress drastically to reduce the scope of the food-stamp program. At present, eligibility is based not on gross, but on net-income—e.g., $500 monthly in stamps for a family of four. There is a work-registration requirement for recipients between age 18 and 65, with exceptions such as those caring for dependent children. That family of four with its net income of $500 a month pays $95 and receives $166 in food stamps.

The Ford administration wants food-stamp families to pay a higher percentage of their incomes for the stamps. So do members of Congress, including those on the agriculture committees of both the House and Senate which have legislative jurisdiction over the program. The toughest bill of several is that whose prime sponsors are Senator Buckley of New York and Representative Michel of Illinois. If adopted, it would eliminate about half the recipients now eligible. The Senate Agriculture Committee has adopted a compromise—basically only households with net incomes lower than the "poverty line," as periodically identified by the federal government. Currently, it is $5,500 for a family of four. Such a family would pay 27.5 percent of adjusted gross monthly income for stamps—the average is now 24 percent—$110 must be paid to receive $166 worth of stamps.

Efforts to lessen the severity of this bill will be made by Senators Dole, Humphrey and McGovern, who seldom agree on much else.

Laski, quoted at the beginning, would have a good word for efforts to remedy the committee bill. But, quite correctly, he would have pointed out that, unlike Lockheed and others selling commodities abroad, the consistent exclusion of the poor from power is their exclusion from the benefits of power. As he phrases it, the State is only fully responsive to the wants of those groups upon whom it depends "for the refreshment of its authority."

SISYPHUS

● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●

SWEDEN'S GENIUS

THE BERGMAN AFFAIR

Unlike France, where "l'affaire so-and-so" is a common newspaper convention, journalistically placid Sweden has very few *affärer*. It is therefore a remarkable coincidence that the tough outer membrane of Sweden's cellular society should have been pricked twice in the past three years by an "I. B. affair." The first I. B. was the Information Bureau, a sort of Swedish C.I.A. whose activities and very existence were revealed to the public in the spring of 1973. The second I. B. is the film-maker and stage director Ingmar Bergman, who was hauled out of a rehearsal at the Royal Dramatic Theater in Stockholm on January 30, accused of tax fraud.

The news that Sweden had a foreign intelligence service, that it had cooperated unneutrally with U.S. intelligence, that it spied on domestic dissidence, was published by a small radical magazine, *Folket i Bild*. There were official denials, retractions and partial explanations, and ritual bewailings of damage to national security; the magazine reporters were prosecuted and convicted for "indirect spying." It was the Pentagon Papers with some Watergate mixed in, but there was no pressing by the establishment press and the convictions were on the wrong side. The young Left was aroused, along with some other civil libertarians, but governments—socialist and democratic though they may be—tend to protect themselves, and the healing waters of national security soon closed over the incident.

The Bergman business may make larger waves, even though the charges were later dropped. It involved not spies and files and press freedom but Sweden's greatest artist-celebrity, the police, the sense of shame and taxes—above all, taxes. Now those are subjects to stir the hearts of Swedes!

The case involves a Swiss corporation set up by Bergman in 1967 and dissolved in 1974: Was it real or a tax front; should capital-gains or personal-income taxes have been paid on certain proceeds? Various aspects of the case have been argued for some time. With the statute of limitations running out on one specific alleged offense, two plainclothesmen came to the theater,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

broke in on a rehearsal of Strindberg's *Dance of Death* and took the director off to police headquarters for questioning. According to a report by Bernard Weinraub in the *New York Times*, Bergman was deeply shocked and mortified, and three days later was in a hospital with a nervous breakdown; he is reported to have said he will work mostly abroad in the future—this from a man who has never made a film anywhere but in Sweden and has said, "I couldn't live anywhere else for any length of time."

The actual merits of the case against Bergman cannot be judged on the basis of details available in the U.S.; even in Sweden the financial facts do not appear to have been at the core of public concern. What is important is that Sweden, which has one artistic giant, slapped down that giant and perhaps lost him to the larger outside world he avoided for so long. What seems inexplicable is the specific conduct of the tax authorities and the police: the fact that they burst in on the rehearsal, collared Bergman in public and took him away for hours of intensive questioning, lifted his passport and then humiliated him before the nation by leaking the story to the press. Among Bergman's friends and supporters the criticism goes further. It is alleged that Bergman was singled out—hounded with tax investigations and then treated roughly—both as an object lesson and because he is disapproved of by official Sweden.

Of course it may not have been all that purposeful. The civil servants may simply have bulled ahead, doing their job. The Swedish civil service has for centuries been powerful, respected, cocky and uncommonly incorruptible. Treating everyone the same is dogma, even if it may mean treating everyone as something of a criminal. And for centuries the Swedes have accepted it so: The authorities go by the book and you do what the authorities say. (When I and my wife arrived in Sweden for our year's stay, they confiscated our liquor—the allowed two quarts each—because we'd put it in a trunk rather than in hand baggage. When I complained casually at the Foreign Ministry press office, the head man checked by telephone and then said to me, unsmiling, "That's right, you were wrong." It remained for a much younger press officer to point out later that we could simply take the four bottles from the customs warehouse when we left on a short trip, and then bring them in again correctly. It was quite legal and it worked. You go by the book.)

Why, then, are Swedes so suspicious of official motives in this case? What explains the strong public reaction?

You have to understand, first of all, the central role that taxes play in Swedish hearts and minds. The rates are indeed very high: more than half of total income in direct and indirect taxes for a well-paid factory worker, say. (Much is given for value received, but that's another story.) The Swedish sense of propriety and community tends to make taxation almost a religious self-flagellation rather than an administered flogging, but still it hurts; tax avoidance, which was once considered rather un-Swedish, is no longer unusual. Workmen look for unreported odd jobs, professionals incorporate themselves, entrepreneurs do complicated things overseas. It can't be easy to police the whole business, and one can imagine that some official might figure: If we can get Bergman, that'll scare the others.

Why Bergman, though? Surely there are dubious situations involving Sweden's many multinational corporations or bankers or lawyers that might have provided object lessons. Those corporations and individuals, however, are comfortably ensconced in Sweden's Establishment. The big "export" industries are the pampered protégés that enable Sweden to rank either second (behind the U.S.) or third (behind Switzerland) in per capita income. Artists are more vulnerable.

Bergman in particular has had an ambiguous status. He is a star and he is Swedish, and so he is cherished along with Björn Borg (tennis) and Ingmar Stenmark (slalom skiing). When *Scenes from a Marriage* was on television, as we keep hearing, all Sweden stayed home to watch. But his movies have not been terribly popular in Sweden. The early ones were too religious and the more recent ones too psychological; even among intellectuals the left finds him too unpolitical and the right too self-absorbed, and most Swedes are embarrassed by his tortured concern with the intricacies of the human condition.

Then there is the very fact that he is a star. Egalitarianism is no Social Democratic invention in Sweden. It's a small town of a country. The Prime Minister lives in a middle-class suburb. One should not be too prominent, too clever, too fancy, too rich. Bergman's friends think he may have appeared too different and too free. "He's not a critic of the system," Weinraub quoted the actor Erland Josephson as saying, "he's just independent of it, and that upsets people." He stood very tall; perhaps they wanted to cut him down.

Still, selective persecution of a prominent individual is hardly regulation and would not likely be authorized without review by political-level government officials. The administration of Olof Palme is not notably stupid; would anyone have failed to see the ill effects of beating on Ingmar Bergman? Could someone have been not only so harsh but also so wrong? Well, yes. Vestigially Lutheran righteousness mixed with the cool Swedish brand of didactic Marxism can produce a special sort of young Cabinet secretary or assistant secretary that is enough to chill the soul. There are not enough of them to dominate the administration, but they can make a speech or a move that can set teeth on edge. The Bergman affair could have been such a move, just possibly.

Why did it run into trouble? It's interesting that many of the comments on the incident refer to Bergman's

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"humiliation." The point is often made that Sweden is a "shame society." In this it is hardly unique; shame is the spur for aculturation and law-abiding in most places, I suspect. But in communal Sweden shame is right out there in public, recognized as the major lever—and proportionately feared. Bergman's films have often dealt with the terror of humiliation. People empathize with Bergman's humiliation. They can imagine themselves humiliated; they live with shame but they don't like it.

Sweden is small and cold and provincial, but it is not stolid. More Swedes spend more of their time and energy worrying about their country and its institutions than any other people I know of. "Why are we (rigid) (cold) (tense) (lonely) (uncommunicative)?" they wonder. Is it all worth it? Are highways, hospitals and parks worth the taxes, are security and order worth the bureaucracy and rules, are Volvos worth the rat-race? So far the answer has been yes, they are worth it. And yet things like the I. B. affair keep reopening the question.

ARMAND SCHWAB, JR.

(*Armand Schwab, Jr. is an editor of* Scientific American *who lived in Sweden for a year recently and came away liking it.*)

● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●

IN CANADA

SITTING ON THE LID

Early in October, before Canadians celebrated Thanksgiving, the Ottawa rumor circuit buzzed with stories of a new anti-inflation package. It was to be, in a word, "frightening." On Thanksgiving day the Prime Minister, the Honorable Pierre Elliott Trudeau, broke the news on a nationwide television hookup: inflation had gotten out of hand, and a radical change in life-style was imperative. In response to the crisis, the government that had sailed into office a year earlier on the rejection of wage and price controls now proposed to use its comfortable majority for a sweeping, long-term regime of controls.

Less than two weeks before Christmas, the P.M. again appeared as the legislation for the program cleared Parliament, to announce sweeping cuts in governmental spending, a surtax on incomes over $30,000 and the freezing of parliamentary and upper-bracket civil service salaries.

By this time it had become fairly clear that the real problem, in the eyes of the Ottawa government, was not the old one of too many dollars chasing too few goods in the Canadian market. Domestically-induced inflation is officially diagnosed as "cost-push" rather than "demand-pull," and the principal remedy is a long-term program of wage and income controls. This is established not in absolute figures such as Britain's six-pound-per-week ceiling on wage increases, but on a percentage basis designed to widen the gap between rich and poor and preserve the present distribution of wealth. Pay raises are limited to eight percent in all companies employing more than 500 hundred workers, for construction firms employing 20 or more, and for all federal government employees. This can be stretched by two percent for increased productivity, and in the case of groups that have fallen behind, yet another two percent. It will not apply to increases totaling less than $600, and for higher levels, a limit of $2,400 has been imposed.

Mr. Trudeau was emphatic that controls would affect professional incomes—doctors, lawyers, engineers and accountants were mentioned—as well as dividends. No mention was made of capital gains or of money that is "made" rather than "earned." In other words, the program provides for business as usual at the top. Prices are to be controlled through careful monitoring of costs and profits, although the effects of this may not be seen for six months.

It is clear that the main thrust of the program is to control wages. The problem is not inflation as such, but the fact that wage pressures threaten to price Canadian goods out of foreign markets. No attempt has been made to limit consumer demand by tightening consumer credit. In fact, one may assume that for every Canadian who heard Mr. Trudeau's plea for a change of lifestyle and expectations, 20 have since seen 20 or 30 television "adverts" from banks, finance companies and corporations promising easy credit.

By the time of the unveiling of the complete program in Parliament, a number of doubtful points had been cleared up. Jean-Luc Pepin, head of the newly-formed Inflation Control Board, had publicly promised "rough justice" and had vetoed a contract reached by striking high school teachers in Toronto, another by workers at De Haviland Aircraft, and a third by paper-mill workers in New Brunswick. The Board also rejected the settlement reached after a bitter 40-odd day postal strike, but this decision, in the face of an almost certain resumption of the strike, was overturned by the Cabinet.

Meanwhile in Ottawa, finance minister Donald Macdonald had clarified the issue with respect to professional incomes. Productivity must be maintained, and professionals must not be penalized for increasing pro-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ductivity. In other words, there must be rough justice for union contracts, but where productivity is measured in terms of fees-for-service, it will be encouraged. There is, of course, the surtax on higher incomes announced by Mr. Trudeau in his pre-Christmas speech.

Ed Broadbent, the NDP leader, noted that the freezing of family allowances will cost low-income families $27 per child next year (family allowances had been indexed to the cost of living), while the surtax would mean an extra $10 in taxes for someone making $35,000.

As for the cuts in governmental expenditures, Robert Stanfield, the leader of the opposition, has described them as a con game. What has actually been cut are projected expenditures in a budget that has yet to be approved. Local Initiative Programs (LIP) will be cut, Opportunities for Youth (OFY), the Company of Young Canadians (CYC, largely social action groups) and Information Canada will be abolished. Cuts are promised in almost every area except defense and law enforcement. But as Mr. Stanfield and other critics noted, the proposed cuts are designed to limit proposed increases in proposed governmental spending to something like 15 percent of this year's budget. In short, there will be an increase in overall governmental spending accompanied by some drastic cuts in programs.

Mr. Stanfield, leader of the opposition, had made a strong plea for prices and incomes controls in the last federal election, and is in a sense committed to the idea in principle. It is, he claims, needed to break the "inflationary psychology." His objection to the Liberal program is that it is too long—39 months—and that measures taken with respect to governmental spending are more a matter of public relations than of fiscal reality. Conservative critics note that no attempt has really been made to "trim the fat" from the federal budget. The government of course cannot admit that there is any "fat" to trim; governments do not make that kind of admission.

On December 22, the Economic Council of Canada came out with a pessimistic report on Canada's economic future. The Council suggested that the country is entering a period of slow growth, that immigration policies may have to be revised to meet a projected labor shortage in the 1980s, that the problem of inflation is such that *some form or other of controls* may have to be imposed *for an indefinite period.* Meanwhile, the Council recommended that some stimulation of the economy is needed to avoid aggravating an already high rate of unemployment: "What we're saying is do not forget that while you combat inflation you have 7.3 percent of the labor force unemployed."

COMES DEATH TO LIFE

PETER STEINFELS

SEVERAL YEARS ago Americans discovered that they die. This fact had not gone entirely unnoticed before, not by those facing the mysterious passage out of this world, not by their families, not by the booming funeral industry, not by a few philosophers, psychiatrists, and poets who believed that confronting death and confronting life were of a single piece. In our society, however, those close to death are at any given moment but a small proportion of the breathing, chatting population, and the poets and philosophers an even smaller group. The rest of us, it seemed, were more likely to react like Peter Ivanovich at the funeral service for Tolstoy's Ivan Ilych. "'Why, that might suddenly, at any time, happen to me,' he thought, and for a moment felt terrified. But— he did not himself know how—the customary reflection at once occurred to him that this had happend to Ivan Ilych and not to him, and that it should not and could not happen to him, and to think that it could would be yielding to depression which he ought not to do. . . . After which reflection Peter Ivanovich felt reassured, and began to ask with interest about the details of Ivan Ilych's death, as though death was an accident natural to Ivan Ilych but certainly not to himself." After the service Peter Ivanovich leaves to play cards.

Death was not denied outright in our society; how could it be? It was instead kept from cracking into the sphere of public reality where the germ of terror locked in our hearts might be confirmed. Why this attitude changed, and changed so suddenly, no one has yet explained. The assassinations of the Sixties? Vietnam? A growing dissatisfaction with medical technology? At any rate when the change came, it came with the force of a dam breaking. Editors in publishing houses were soon discussing whether their spring or fall lists would include a "death book." Newspapers and TV news reported opinions on the "right to die" and developments in "thanatology." From adult education classes to medical and divinity school courses, death and dying was suddenly an astonishingly popular educational topic.

There was certainly a great gain in this explosion of interest, but also the discomforting sense of a jerry-built movement, the almost inevitable result whenever the machinery of popular culture fastens upon some idea that has raised its head above the horizon. A suspiciously self-congratulatory tone crept into the repeated characterization of death as a tabooed topic; by breaking the taboo we would liberate death the way the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mr. Trudeau candidly admits that for the moment at least the "free enterprise" system is unworkable, that it has succeeded only in inducing, simultaneously, a high rate of inflation and a high rate of unemployment. This admission may constitute the big divergence between the Trudeau government and the Tory opposition, between the government's program of long-term, perhaps indefinite economic controls and the Tory's projected short-term controls. The Liberals have in effect introduced a new system, or perhaps a new name for the system which has already been in existence for a number of years (except for those who continue to think that "free enterprise" is a reality).

It would in fact be hard to find a better example of Marx's thesis concerning the class bias of governments in a capitalist society than the present program. A 10 percent increase for someone making $7,000 a year—(more or less the official poverty line) is $700—if you can get it. Ten percent of $24,000 is $2,400—and you probably can get it. Free enterprise is officially dead, with the distribution of wealth frozen to the status quo. The program appears to be positively designed not only to maintain but to increase income differentials in favor of the affluent.

The government is in fact faced with a serious credibility problem. Labor unions have claimed that the program promises effective wage controls and illusory price controls. Others have suggested that the program promises hard and effective wage controls coupled with a governmentally-supported "cost-plus" regime for business. In other words, the free enterprise system is to be replaced by a controlled economy that keeps a lid on wages and guarantees profits for industry.

Mr. Trudeau has strongly insisted that Canadians must change their lifestyles, that the wave of rising expectations must be curbed lest the whole economy crumble. Growth is, officially, the only answer to the problems of the poor. It is clear that those at the bottom are expected to lead the way in renouncing rising expectations, while those at the top may be faced at worst with a hard choice between champagne and caviar.

The program is as regressive as Canada's hidden 12 percent federal sales tax. Nothing is left of Trudeau's "just society" of 1968 except the people in charge. The free enterprise system and collective bargaining can no longer be trusted to maintain the status quo, so another, more effective system must be devised for that purpose. The "just society" has been replaced by a new slogan: "Our status is quo, and we aim to keep it that way."

JORDAN BISHOP

(Jordan Bishop, a regular contributor, teaches at the College of Cape Breton in Nova Scotia.)

---

pioneers of candor were alleged to have liberated sex.

Death, the great mystery, would be stamped, molded, die-cut, glued, baked, enameled and packaged in cardboard and plastic. It would be transformed into sentimentality—we will all float downward like autumn leaves in the great cycle of nature—or into a social problem; death with dignity can be assured by reforming medicine, allowing euthanasia, or developing new institutions. By the time Robert M. Veatch and I edited a collection of articles on death (*Death Inside Out*, Harper & Row) in 1974, the book's natural centerpiece was a debate over what Paul Ramsey termed the growing "Indignity of 'Death with Dignity.'"

This is not meant to be another lament for a social change gone awry. On the contrary it is prelude to noting two works about death that do redeem the hope that honesty and an end to euphemism could liberate. *Dying* is a film made by Michael Roemer for Boston's WGBH and scheduled to be aired by Public Broadcasting Service stations at the end of April or after. *Dying* began as a project sponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities; it would combine a didactic presentation of the way art, poetry, drama, fiction and music had handled the theme of death with documentary portraits of several dying individuals. But once Roemer had finished the portraits there could be no didacticism. The film was left in its simple state: Nothing further was added except an explanation of the film's evolution and an expression of gratitude to those who, in hope of assisting others, had revealed themselves in their weakness.

Dying does not focus on the questions of medical care that, however important, are still not central. The young woman whose description of her husband's death opens the film does employ the phrase "die with dignity" and does speak of the cold and dehumanizing atmosphere of the hospital. Her husband had to return there when he wanted to die at home; finally his physician removes all the tubes. The makings of medical drama are here; but they are left in the background, where they belong.

Not medical technology but the ordinary, sacramental moments of life—eating, drinking, getting in and out of bed, going to sleep—are in the film's forefront. In the way each dying person takes food and drink, alone or with family, one sees summed up not only the immediate predicament but whole lives.

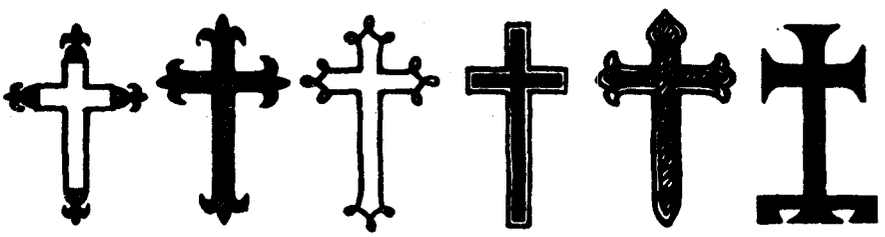
Dying includes one of the most painful episodes I have ever observed on film. A young man is in the early stages of a slow but certain death from cancer. He is withdrawn; his marriage is dissolving. His wife confesses to the doctor, and to the camera, that she would prefer him dead quickly so that she could marry again and her young boys have a father.

(Continued on page 253)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE CROSS IN A SECULAR WORLD

JOHN J. O'DONNELL



There are dangers in the church's proclamation of the cross

The question of the cross presents itself with even greater urgency in a time when we instinctively shy away from the negative aspects of life, when we seem bent on affirming the life-force in all its dimensions, when self-affirmation rather than self-denial, this world rather than the world to come, immanence rather than transcendence tend to characterize the religious spirit of our day. Liberal theology has always recoiled from proclaiming the cross, so much so that H. Richard Niebuhr once spoke of the God of liberalism as a God without wrath "who brought men without sin into a kingdom without judgment through the ministrations of a Christ without the cross."

Nevertheless this Holy Week there are signs that a one-sided liberalism which prevailed in some Catholic circles during the sixties may not completely have the day in the seventies. Catholics of this generation know that Christian faith does not call for a withdrawal from this world and its problems. Yet documents like the Hartford Statement, issued by an ecumenical gathering of theologians last year, have alerted us to the dangers of an unbridled liberalism and have warned that the church must not surrender to the prevailing secularism of our culture. And there are other signs that the church's preaching may be gradually focusing anew on the symbol of the cross. Recent books like Dorothee Sölle's *Suffering*, Jurgen Moltmann's *The Crucified God* and Christopher Mooney's *Man Without Tears*—with its treatment of the themes of failure, old age and death—all point to a renewal of the theology of the cross. Yet these authors are also aware that the history of the cross in Christian theology and piety is at best ambiguous, that the symbol of the cross is so easily perverted, and that the Christian can be led to embrace a concept of God which is theologically idolatrous and psychologically destructive.

There are dangers in the church's proclamation of the cross. The most pernicious one was recognized as early as the book of Job: Job's friends believe that suffering and misfortune are the result of sin, whereas the whole thrust of Job's dialogues with his companions is that he is not guilty but righteous. If God therefore is responsible for the sufferings of the innocent, God is made into a demon, and to worship such a God is to worship an executioner. The Christian God has often been pictured in this way—one who, to satisfy his justice, decreed that his only Son should suffer in our place.

Furthermore, if the suffering of Jesus is seen as God's deliberate choice, a choice freely accepted by Jesus, then suffering can easily be valued for its own sake. Christianity becomes a religion which glorifies suffering—in short, a masochistic cult. The Christian then desires nothing more than to suffer with Christ suffering, a suffering often conceived in an individual, private and purely internal way. St. Ignatius Loyola, for example, in the *Spiritual Exercises* urges the retreatant to contemplate the sufferings of Christ in this way: "The special grace to ask for in the passion is sorrow with Christ in his sorrow, a broken heart with Christ broken-hearted, tears and interior suffering for the great suffering Christ endured for me." But, not only is this kind of sorrow psychologically difficult to achieve, it also overlooks the once-for-all character of Jesus's death.

The Jesus of history died once and his death was seen by the early Christian community as the dividing

FATHER JOHN J. O'DONNELL, S.J., *is a parish priest at Holy Trinity Church in Washington, D.C.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

line between this world and the world to come. He alone died as God's final prophet sent to proclaim the Kingdom in word and deed. As such his cross cannot be repeated. To try to relive in our own consciousness the sufferings he endured is to seek to know him according to the flesh. But, as Paul reminded his communities, this is impossible.

What then does it mean for the church to proclaim the crucified Christ, and in what sense is the cross a saving event for us? I suggest two lines of reflection: one Christological, the other theological.

Christologically, we can look at the cross in the context of Jesus's preaching and ministry. From this perspective the cross is not something that God directly willed nor that Jesus deliberately sought. Rather, it is something that happened to Jesus because of human sinfulness and because of his fidelity to his mission.

Jesus came preaching the advent of God's Kingdom, proclaiming a free offer of grace at the last hour—God's final offer of mercy. He taught that his hour was the world's great crisis—a crisis so overwhelming that it would bring about a reversal of all ordinary standards of conduct: the last shall be first and the first last; sinners shall enter the Kingdom before the righteous; he shares his table with tax collectors and associates with the likes of prostitutes. Here was a challenge to the religious leaders of Judaism; Jesus was setting himself above the law and above Moses. This was a challenge that necessarily precipitated the events that led to Calvary and to the cross.

This, however, is only one side of the picture. Jesus died accursed by the law, but he also died a political death—executed on a Roman cross as a political agitator. The death of Jesus can never be understood if it is not understood politically. From all we know, Jesus was not a Zealot and he rejected violence; but Pilate correctly perceived that Jesus's presence was a threat to the state. His "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's" was no mere doctrine of peaceful co-existence of church and state. Seen in the context of Jesus's preaching of the imminence of God's rule, this teaching relativizes and radically undercuts the supreme authority of the state. Obedience to Caesar is not an act of submission. Rather, like Jesus's silence before Pilate, it is a sign that the kingdoms of this world have already been judged and will soon meet their day of reckoning.

So, it is no surprise that Jesus's ministry ended in his execution. His death constitutes the crisis of everything he stood for. Was he truly a blasphemer? Was his proclamation of God's impending rule merely the work of a religious fanatic? These questions are implicit in the cross and bring us to the deepest darkness of Golgotha; for Jesus not only died a political death, rejected by his own people, he died in the unbroken silence of God. The God whom he called Father did not come to save him. He endured with us the death of sin, i.e., death experienced as abandonment and separation from God. So, the evangelist puts on Jesus's lips the words of the psalmist, "My God, my God, why have you forsaken me?"

The cross of Jesus understood in the context of his message can be viewed as nothing other than a theological crisis. What is at stake is his God and our God. In this way the symbol of the cross invites thought: Who is this God and can we accept him?

Christian faith affirms that God overturned the defeat of the cross in the resurrection. "The stone which the builders rejected has become the head of the corner." But Christian faith also affirms that this same God remained silent as Jesus hung upon the cross. Christian faith therefore asks whether we can accept such a God —a God who is free to keep silent even in the midst of our sufferings. Jesus has fully entered into our human condition, he has suffered with us the dark night of the soul. His cross is a symbol that he has become one with us in this. His resurrection is a promise that we will not undergo this darkness alone, but it is not a promise that God will remove the darkness.

In our own time we are profoundly aware of this darkness in the atrocities of Auschwitz, Hiroshima, Vietnam, Lebanon and Northern Ireland—times when man's capacity to brutalize his fellow man has made the God question all the more acute for men and women of our generation. Camus's decision for a godless world where men and women struggle against a universe in which innocent children suffer and die constitutes a challenge which cannot be ignored. For it is not easy to answer a Camus, or a Rubenstein who believes that the God of history was consumed in the flames of the death camps.

The Christian answer is partly in the darkness of Golgotha, where Christian faith first wrestled with the silence of God. As Moltmann has soberly noted, a theology after Auschwitz would be impossible had not the Schema of Israel and the Our Father been prayed in Auschwitz itself.

Jesus's sense of abandonment is part of the Christian response, but a theology of the cross invites further reflection. Even since Ignatius of Antioch first dared to speak of the "passion of my God," Christian theology has had to reflect on God's presence in the cross of Jesus, and Christians who believe in the Trinity and who confess Jesus to be the Son of God have had to explore the meaning of God's involvement in the suffering of Jesus. The cross is the final answer to Job's dilemma: God does not instigate our sufferings, nor did he decree the suffering of Jesus. Rather he participated in it. As theologians are suggesting today, the cross points to a God who is involved in the suffering of his world. Our God is not the executioner but the fellow sufferer.

To identify with the passion of Christ today is not

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to try to conjure up an emotional experience reproducing the sufferings Jesus endured long ago. Rather it is to locate the passion story as it continues in our world. For our history today is still the largely suffering history of God. In the cross of Jesus God once and for all sided with the wretched of this earth—those beyond human hope. To proclaim his cross is to place ourselves with the wretched of the earth today. In this way the symbol of the cross is not so much a symbol for a past event but rather a summons to our present mission. Jesus is risen from the dead, and with his resurrection has dawned the sure hope of God's final victory over evil. But thus far the victory has appeared in one man only—Jesus of Nazareth. For us and for our world the victory is incomplete—it is not yet. The cross of Jesus reminds us of this fact until he comes again. The symbol of the cross reminds us that as the passion story goes on, we must participate in it, struggling to free men and women from the oppressions that enslave them. As Simone Weil once remarked, "Christianity is a religion for slaves." This is true not in the Marxist sense—that Christianity justifies slavery and oppression—but in the sense that God has sided with those in bondage. Thus, as the Third World is teaching us, the cross has become a truly revolutionary symbol.

This Lent and Holy Week, Christian preachers are faced once again with the task of explaining anew the saving events of our faith, the death and resurrection of the Lord. These two events are really two aspects of the one mystery of faith. We do not preach the cross in order to exalt the value of suffering. We do not preach a sadistic God who desired to give up his own Son to death, even for our sakes. The suffering of Jesus is not the result of a divine decision but of a human decision. We preach the cross because it is this Jesus and no other who was raised. The cross of Christ has always been and should continue to be an offense. The Jesus who hangs on the cross is not the medieval figure of the king robed in glory but the twisted figure of Grünewald's Isenheim Altarpiece, the Jesus who resists all attempts to be made acceptable, whose cross is, as Paul said, a stumbling block to Jews and foolishness to Greeks but, to us who are called in faith, the power and wisdom of God.

ANGOLA: A BICENTENNIAL REFLECTION

JOSEPH P. CARNEY

The search for a policy in Africa

Kwa nini, Yosefu, Amerika inakwenda kupigana watu wa Angola kwa upande wa Afrika ya Kusini?
"Why, Joseph, is America fighting against the people of Angola on the side of South Africa?"

This simple and lethal question was asked of me by rural farmers in the *Ujamaa* or socialist village of Nyegina, Tanzania. The transistor radio offers a depth of propaganda and political acumen to ask such a question. The BBC, Voice of America, Radio Moscow, Radio Peking and *Sauti ya Tanzania* all proclaim their unique versions of bias and omitted news as gospel truth. With common sense and an appreciation for political satire, the Tanzanian peasant can surmise the basic truths.

Three facts were universally known. 300 Soviet Union advisors, 12,000 Cuban soldiers and $200 million worth of USSR military arms were aiding the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) in their struggle for domination of Angola. 10,000 South African troops, 2000 Zairian ones, European mercenaries and $114.5 million of United States financial and military equipment were assisting the joint forces of the FLNA (National Front for the Liberation of Angola) and UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola). The fact that 40,000 Angolans had died in the past two years in this proxy battle of Cold War ideologies illustrated the wisdom of the African proverb, "When the elephants fight, it is the grass which suffers." The third aspect universally recognized by the common man of Africa was that South Africa represents the historical embodiment of long-endured racial, economic and political oppression in the area of Southern Africa. The question freely translated might have been: "If the Voice of America can broadcast vignettes about freedom, independence and democracy enhancing the Bicentennial Year of the American Revolution, why was the U.S.A. now fighting on the side of oppression in the war of Angola?"

I ventured to explain that Senator Dick Clark, (D.-Iowa), chairman of the Congressional Subcommittee on Africa, had led the Senate (55-22) and the House of Representatives (323-99) in passing an amendment to

FATHER JOSEPH P. CARNEY, M.M., *taught African studies at Maryknoll Seminary, New York, and is now engaged in pastoral and development work in Tanzania.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the *Security Supporting Assistance Act of 1975*, which forbade the use of U.S. funds for covert military assistance to any party in the Angolan conflict. Although President Ford had recently lambasted this Congressional vote as "short-sighted" and "hamstringing" the role of the President acting in a National Security Emergency, I hopefully explained that no recent vote of the U.S. Congress was ever more propitious and prophetic in protecting the domestic tranquillity and Constitution of the U.S., as well as affording American citizens an opportunity to reflect on their responsibility to aid in guaranteeing the basic human rights for 37,000,000-plus African people of Angola, Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), Namibia and South Africa.

But rather than give lessons to rural farmers on the rejuvenation of the U.S. Congressional system of checks and balances since the denouement of President Nixon, I feel compelled to raise a voice of alarm and concern with my fellow American citizens about the mistakes of past U.S. foreign policy in Southern Africa and focal points of crisis in the future. Briefly put, the United States in its foreign policy toward the continual crisis of Southern Africa from 1961 to the present has foresaken the pearl of great price embodied in American traditions that "just governments are formed to guarantee self-evident truths that all men are created equal and endowed with certain unalienable rights, i.e. life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." The indigenous people of Southern Africa have perceived correctly that for the past 15 years the U.S. has been supporting the side of injustice against their basic human rights for the sake of preserving the *status quo* economic system of capitalism of the minority colonial governments, which are regarded as political and economic allies in the still furtive battle of the Cold War.

Portugal's Angolan wars began in 1575. From that time until its collapse in April 1974 rarely did a year pass when Portugal was not engaged in some colonial compaign of suppression against the African. Four centuries of slavery, forced labor systems under the guise of "assimilation" of Africans into Portuguese civilization, and the rape of its natural resources culminated in the armed revolution of the Angolan people in 1961. On February 4 of that year Dr. Augustino Neto's MPLA, which was founded in 1956 from a variety of left-wing groups in the intellectual circles of *assimulados* in the cities of Luanda and Lobito, attacked the Sao Paul fortress in Luanda. On March 15 the forerunner group of Holden Roberto's FLNA activated a mass peasant rebellion of the Bakongo people in northern Angola. In these two different rebellions of Angolans against the criminal injustices of the Portuguese lie the origins of the USSR-U.S. tensions in the Angolan civil war and Southern Africa in general.

In the three decades after World War II, the U.S. and the USSR have stared down the barrel of the thermonuclear ultimate weapon and have pragmatically entered upon a policy of détente in relation to disarmament and increased cultural, agricultural and financial contacts. World détente is a realistic appraisal of the tragedy of nuclear war, but it is also an attempt by the U.S. to encourage the USSR to accept America's definition of international economic and political stability for a relaxation of world tensions. The crisis is met in the area of the Third World, where in the latter half of the twentieth century, indigenous people are struggling to throw off the oppression of centuries in the form of colonialism and neo-colonialism. The USSR, which for its own pragmatic self-interest is seeking to promote forms of socialistic governments, consistently identifies with the issue of social justice in the rebellion of oppressed peoples *outside the borders of its own closed system*, (a moot point that many Africans note well). The U.S. pursues a verbal policy of peaceful evolution toward justice for the same oppressed people through hoped-for democratic enlightenment of elite leaders, but it is subordinated to a mandate of action guaranteeing the status quo economic system of international mercantilism. In effect, the preservation of the capitalistic colonial system in Southern Africa also necessitates the continuation of political and economic oppression and injustice for the indigenous peoples.

At the time of the Angolan rebellions in 1961, the Cold War was reaching a climax of the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba and the Kennedy-Krushchev nuclear brinkmanship. The U.S. had been continually strengthening its alliance with European nations and NATO. The U.S. had also been pursuing a low profile in Africa in general; and particularly in Southern Africa, it followed the initiative of its European allies and NATO. It was generally accepted that the United States had a "sphere of influence" in the political and economic stability of Latin America, while Europe had a similar pattern of relations with its colonies and former colonies in Africa. Asia was shared common ground. In the decade of Independence in Africa from 1958-1968, England, France and Belgium struggled to maintain a vested interest in the political and economic stability of their former colonies. Portugal was enmeshed in the suppression of three simultaneous rebellions in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola. Washington pursued a policy in Southern Africa which has been described as the pursuit of a minimum amount of trouble, purchased with a minimum amount of time, trouble and energy.

The objectives of U.S. policy in Southern Africa during the 1960s have been best enumerated by George Ball, Undersecretary of State for Presidents Kennedy and Johnson and later Ambassador at the United Nations. He was the major architect of a plan for the European Common Market to enhance a "closed system" of trade and development with the newly independent African nations and the Southern African

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

complex. Goals within the general policy called for strengthening already existing preferential trade systems between Europe and Africa, "gradualism" on the evolution of Southern African racialism and neutrality on issues of condemnations of Portugal, Rhodesia and South Africa in the United Nations. The U.S. also planned to bestow generous terms of financial and military aid to Portugal to assist in suppressing the guerrilla wars of liberation, while at the same time increasing slightly its foreign aid to independent African nations to encourage them toward a moderate stance on Southern Africa.

The result of these U.S. objectives and goals in foreign policy toward Southern Africa was a $288.5 million grant to Portugal in 1961 for arms and military training under the auspices of NATO for the suppression of guerrilla warfare. In 1962 both Augustino Neto of the MPLA and Holden Roberto of the FLNA asked the U.S. for financial aid for their liberation movements. Neto was refused because of his socialist leanings and he later traveled to Moscow in 1962 and 1968 seeking military aid. However, the CIA did channel a limited amount of funds to Roberto and the FLNA to aid in its fight against the Portuguese from 1962-1969. In effect the U.S. foreign policy in Southern Africa was "to play all ends against the middle." An additional $34.9 million in military weapons was given to Portugal between 1962-69. A moderate amount of aid was given to the FLNA at the same time, since it was judged that if Portugal should falter, the U.S. might still hope to back a winner. At the United Nations, the U.S. proclaimed its foreign policy was for non-violent and peaceful evolution in Southern Africa. Two contradictory options were being pursued simultaneously under the cover of benign neutrality!

Such a policy of flipping a coin and proclaiming, "Heads I win, tails you lose," was re-evaluated in the now famous 1969 *National Security Study, NSSM 39*, as a part of the Nixon Doctrine for defending U.S. national security interests in the Third World. Kissinger and the State Dept. advised President Nixon that there was no hope for the blacks in Southern Africa to gain political rights through violence. The white regimes were judged as here to stay and the only way to effect constructive change in their racialist postures was to work in and through them. It seemed to be a military and political analysis of Southern Africa mixed with wishful thinking. Among the five possible options in Southern Africa, the National Security Council recommended that the U.S. seek "broader association with both white and black states in Southern Africa to encourage moderation in both groups and reduce tensions and opportunities for cross-border violence." Under this policy the U.S. hoped to minimize the likelihood of escalation of violence and the risk of U.S. involvement and also to minimize the opportunities for the USSR and China to exploit the racial issue and gain political influence with independent Africa and the liberation movements. The U.S. also intended to protect its economic, scientific and strategic interests in the area.

The historical events following this 1969 policy evaluation achieved just the opposite effect. Selective relaxation of the U.S. stance with Portugal included stopping the financial aid to Roberto and the FLNA in 1969. The Azores Base Agreement of 1971, which was written under executive action only, gave $436 million in loans to Portugal through the Import-Export Bank during 1971-73. U.S. private investment in Portuguese Africa reached a height of $300 million a year in 1973, while the Portuguese war budget was $400 million. $10,000,000 worth of herbicides for suppressing guerrilla warfare were sold to Portugal by the U.S. from 1969-72. At the same time, the United States and Portugal had the dubious distinction of being the only two nations to vote against the United Nations Ban on Herbicides as a Means of International Warfare. From 1971-73, four Boeing 707's were sold to Portugal with U.S. government approval to serve as troop transports from Portugal to Southern Africa. The U.S. also increased its foreign aid to the independent nations bordering Southern Africa by $5 million hoping to soften their support

toward the liberation movements. The "unthinkable" happened. The Portuguese government in Europe and its war effort in Africa collapsed in April 1974. The steadfastness of the African soldier and the discouragement of the Portuguese soldier and taxpayer, who sensed that a people, African or otherwise, will fight to the death for their basic human rights had caused the Portuguese colonial empire to crumble perhaps 10-15 years before the U.S. intelligence estimate.

Since that time, the CIA under the direction of President Ford and Dr. Kissinger, as chairman of the Committee of 40 for National Security, has reinitiated covert aid of $50,000,000 to the perennial runner, Holden Roberto. In spring 1975, it gave for the first time $300,000 to Dr. Jonas Savimbi and UNITA, a third liberation movement which he formed in 1966 as a splinter group from the FLNA among the Ovimbundu people of southwest Angola. When Undersecretary of State for Africa, Nathaniel Davis (formerly of Allende Chile fame) resigned from the State Dept. over the issue of this covert aid, he had an apt comment on the U.S. futile search for a winner in Angola: "Neither Savimbi or Roberto are good fighters—in fact they

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

could not fight their way out of a paper bag. It's the wrong game and the players we got are losers." ("CIA's Secret War in Angola," *Intelligence Report,* Center for National Security Studies, Washington, D.C.)

Events have moved rapidly since then. Under the Russian-Cuban-MPLA onslaught, the FLNA has completely collapsed in the north and UNITA has gone underground in the south. On February 11 the Organization of African Unity recognized the MPLA as the official government of Angola. Ten days later, Portugal's recent socialist government also recognized its former enemy as the legitimate government of Angola. Although the CIA requested $64.5 million of aid for Zaire in 1976, which was to be channeled to the FLNA, Zaire on February 6 read the handwriting on the wall and forbade mercenaries and covert aid to be funneled through her country to the FLNA-UNITA forces in Angola. Indeed, the horse has long escaped from the barn and President Ford and Dr. Kissinger in their campaign speeches about Congress's "short-sightedness" and "hamstringing," are still struggling to close the door on 15 years of contradictory and self-defeating foreign policy in Southern Africa.

The loss is a real one for the United States. The foreign policy of the Soviet Union in Africa has not been without its blunders and misunderstanding of the African people. In admiration of their socialist states, Lenin Peace Prizes were awarded to Sekou Toure of Guiana in 1961, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana in 1962, and Mobido Keita of Mali in 1963. Toure and Guiana have since gone their own independent neutralist way in the struggle of capitalism and socialism in the Cold War, as many African nations would aspire to do. Nkrumah was overthrown in 1966 and Keita in 1968 and more moderate governments exist now. The strident nationalism of Nasser's Egypt has given way to the flexibility of Sadat's. The USSR intervention in the Congo in the 1960's was a failure. Soviet aid in the Nigerian civil war did not prevent that country from following a progressive neutralist policy. The USSR must be wondering what General Amin of Uganda will say or do next with their military arms. Paulo Jorge, the MPLA delegate at the United Nations has stated: "We assure you that we have not fought for 14 years for the independence of Angola in order to be under the umbrella of another country or power." However, in identifying with the Southern African's aspiration for social justice through diplomacy at the United Nations and consistent and considerable aid for the liberation movements since 1961, the USSR has gone far in winning allies in the conflict of socialistic and capitalistic ideologies.

The U.S. would do well to completely re-evaluate its foreign policy in Southern Africa at this juncture. Absence of a politically-minded proletariat, scarcity of urban centers and communication media, a high-illiteracy rate, tribalism, the absence of an overpopulation crisis, respect for the Western value system of social development, education and freedom of the individual, as well as the realm of religion and the reality of a God, and finally, an educated African elite as wary of the rhetoric of Communism as they were of colonialism—all mitigate against the formation of a Communist state in Africa. The African elders are fond of a proverb which states: "When the elephants stop fighting, they can hear the other animals." It would profit the U.S. to abandon the principle and verbiage of the Cold War that any socialist state in the Third World is inimicable to the political and economic interests of the U.S. and Western Europe. The white regimes of Rhodesia and South Africa would do much to entrap the American government in such a fallacy. Congress has initially prevented such a mishap in the Angolan conflict. But the flash points of Ian Smith's Rhodesia (4.5 percent of the total population is white), South Africa's flouting of the World Court of Justice decision on Namibia (13 percent is white), and the ultimate intransigence of Africa itself (19 percent white) all remain in the future.

The U.S. does not have a clear and well-thought-out foreign policy on Southern Africa now. It lives in shambles with Vietnam around the feet of the Nixon Doctrine of 1964. It behooved the U.S. to meditate on the principles of the American Declaration of Independence and its own Constitution and ask itself: might such documents of human freedoms not yet win the minds and hearts of the African? The American Revolution against political and economic oppression was sustained for two decades on an ideology of human freedom. The African understands that well, and the American seems to have forgotten it.

A practical direction in future U.S. foreign policy in Southern Africa might include closer financial associations with independent African nations and the liberation movements, a stronger positive stand on the racial and social justice issue in diplomacy with South Africa and at the United Nations, limited but politically influential economic relations with Rhodesia and South Africa and an appeal to open and candid negotiations on majority rule in Southern Africa in the near future. The African revolutionary will declare that such a moderate policy was more appropriate in 1966 than in 1976. The white minority governments have hardened into positions of reactionism and militarism. The liberation movements and the USSR are experiencing the flush of victory after sixteen years of struggle and now cast their eyes toward the vulnerability of Rhodesia and Namibia. Many African politicians believe that the United States only has two choices left after the MPLA victory: even closer financial and military association with the white governments to protect and increase its economic and strategic interests or complete dissociation from the white governments financially, politically and militarily in an effort to enhance the American image on the racial

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

$3

doesn't buy much any more. . . . But it will buy COMMONWEAL for the next eleven issues (5 months). . . . This is a bargain we are offering this Presidential election year. We offer it today because we are anxious for you to share in the exciting issues that we are planning for this spring and summer.

Commonweal Features

Commonweal provides rewarding reading by such authors as Robert F. Drinan, Rosemary Haughton, Peter Hebblethwaite, George A. Lindbeck, Daniel C. Maguire, Gary MacEoin, Saul Maloff, Richard John Neuhaus, Peter J. Ognibene and Kirkpatrick Sale among others.

Columnists

One of *Commonweal's* most popular features is its columnists: the prize-winning Washington column of Sisyphus, and the lively comment of Peter Steinfels, which appear in each issue; the popular column of Abigail McCarthy; Thomas Powers on the Press; Colin Westerbeck, Jr., Movies; John Garvey, Religious Books.

Reviewers

With its 32-page issues *Commonweal* offers a wide coverage of current books. Its critics include, among many others, Wayne Andrews, Bernard Bergonzi, Avery Dulles, Jean Bethke Elshtain, Todd Gitlin, Claire Hahn, Michael Harrington, Quincy Howe and Paul Ramsey. *Commonweal's* comment on books and the arts is alone worth the price of a subscription.

Send for a Trial Subscription

5 Months (11 issues) for $3

---------- For New Subscribers Only ----------

COMMONWEAL, 232 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. 10016.

Please send the next 11 issues of *Commonweal* to:

Name _____

Address _____

City, State, Zip _____

☐ I prefer the regular full-year subscription at $15

4-9-76

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

issue and to secure long-range financial and strategic interests with the eventual black governments of Southern Africa. Reflections during the Bicentennial Year on the human freedoms proclaimed in the American Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution would leave only one possible response.

James Russell Lowell, the 19th century New England poet and U.S. diplomat captured that responsibility well in the poem, *Stanzas on Freedom*:

> Fetters for our dear sake,
> Is true Freedom but to break
> And, with leathern hearts, forget
> That we owe mankind a debt?
> No! True Freedom is to share
> All the chains our brothers wear,
> And, with heart and hand, to be
> Earnest to make others free!

SCHORR AND A FREE PRESS

The stage crew is already at work on the latest confrontation between Government and Free Press. It's hard to say just when the climactic scene will begin, but when it does it will probably go like this:

A crowded committee room in the office building of the House of Representatives. Walls lined with reporters and photographers. At the head of the room, behind a long table, the members of the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct. In the center is the Committee's chairman, Rep. John J. Flynt, Democrat of Georgia.

In front of the assembled committee is a smaller table with a microphone, a pitcher of water, and a glass or two. There are two men at the table. One is a lawyer, going through his briefcase. The other, white-haired and no doubt smoking his pipe, is Daniel Schorr.

The question everyone has come to hear will be asked by the Committee's chief counsel, or perhaps even by Representative Flynt himself.

"Now, Mister Schorr," the question will begin, "will you please tell the committee who gave you the draft report of the House Select Committee on Intelligence?"

Daniel Schorr will then be faced with what will surely be the most painful moment of his career: Damned if he does and damned if he doesn't, he will have to answer the question, or go to jail.

The genius of American democracy is that it generally avoids confrontations of this sort, or blurs them when they cannot be avoided altogether. Even this time the Committee, for reasons of its own, may never call Schorr, and if it calls him, it may not ask the fatal question, and if it asks the fatal question, Schorr might fight a contempt citation on constitutional grounds for a year or two in the courts. But even if Schorr avoids answering the painful question and going to jail alike, the chilling effect on freedom of the press will be substantial. Schorr, remember, has already lost his job for his temerity and independence, and it will be some time before he is allowed to get back to reporting. His informant may soon be collecting unemployment, and there cannot be many other House or Senate committee staffers willing to run similar risks. It is quite possible that Schorr's troubles mean a period of valuable but much-exaggerated investigative reporting is coming to an end.

Before going on to explore what is behind the House investigation we ought to recapitulate how Schorr got into this awful jam:

—On January 29, the House voted nearly two to one to accept a request by President Ford to suppress the final report of the House Select Committee on Intelligence until it could be "sanitized" of classified information.

—On Wednesday, February 11, the *Village Voice* published a long section of the report and two days later Schorr admitted he was the source of the *Voice* text. What he did not say was who gave it to him.

—On February 19, the House voted 269-115 to find out who gave the report to Schorr.

—On February 20, Schorr was taken off the intelligence beat by CBS and three days later he was suspended from reporting altogether.

—On March 3, the House voted 321-85 to give a broadened subpoena power to the Ethics Committee. This meant the Committee could question more or less anybody, and in particular Schorr.

Committee members have insisted they are not out to get Schorr personally and they are probably telling the truth. Schorr simply stumbled into the way, or, in his own words, he "got hit by a swinging pendulum." That is, something loosely called "public opinion" has swung sharply away from both aggressive reporting and official investigation of the intelligence community. The public, according to the pendulum theory, does not really care what was in the House report, and is tired of smart-aleck reporters showing up the establishment. Hence the unexpected vigor of the House's attempt to find out who leaked the intelligence report, and to make sure that he (or she, of course) becomes an instructive example. This theory is only partly right. The pendulum has swung all right, but the public has had nothing to do with it.

The real parties to this struggle are the administra-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion, which does not want to lose its power to take secret and unilateral action; the intelligence community, which does not think secrets can be kept without extremely sharp limits on the number of people who know the secrets; and congressmen who want to know more about what the administration and the intelligence community are up to. On this issue the Congress seems to have two factions, one which shares the basic aims of the administration and the intelligence community, but wants to be in on the secrets; and another—of uncertain size and determination—which is suspicious of the utility of secret diplomacy, if diplomacy is the word.

It is not intelligence-gathering which is under dispute. Everyone seems to agree that knowledge makes the world a safer, more stable place, on the theory that it's what you don't know which scares you. The issue, basically, is whether the U.S. Government and its covert instruments actually know how to defend American interests. It would be nice to think that a majority of Congress would disdain violence and other black arts even if they always worked to our benefit. Somehow . . . I doubt it. What the dissident faction suspects is that our covert operations create more problems than they solve. In short, that when they commit assassinations, they kill the wrong people. When they slip secret funds to foreign politicians, they support the toadies and the self-seekers. When they undermine governments, they replace them with military dictatorships or right-wing oligarchies which will only make things worse later on.

Was it a good idea for General Lansdale to put sugar in North Vietnamese gas tanks back in 1954? What did we gain when the CIA replaced a coalition Laotian government in 1960 with a right-wing regime, which eventually lost the whole country? Is Guatemala more stable now, for having been saved from Arbenz in 1954? Mossadegh was going to nationalize the Iranian oil companies, so the CIA replaced him with a man who thinks he is the new Xerxes, who helped raise the price of oil four-fold, and who nationalized the oil companies.

The most recent example of U.S. covert intervention is the most disturbing yet. It is, in fact, so inexplicable, that one suspects the CIA must actually, for once, against all odds, have known something we didn't know. There is no other possible explanation for the decision to secretly intervene in Angola on the side of . . . South Africa.

Really, one hardly knows what to make of such a plan. The speed of collapse of our chosen ally ought to suggest that we got out of that one by the skin of our teeth. If you still have doubts on this matter, take a look at David B. Ottaway's excellent story in the *Washington Post* of February 19. My intention here is not to make fun of Holden Roberto and the cause he led—we have no reason to take pleasure in his defeat—but to point out that choosing the side of South Africa in southern Africa is so reckless of reality as to be suicidal. The Nationalist Chinese and the South Vietnamese were sure things by comparison. But not only did Kissinger suggest that the MPLA's victory in Angola was an important defeat for U.S. interests, he has also gone on to suggest that the U.S. might intervene on the side of white Rhodesia, if Russia or Cuba join their black enemies. This sounds incredible. If there is anything certain in this world it is that the 278,000 whites in Rhodesia are going to pack up and leave one of these days, just as a half-million Portuguese left Angola and Mozambique, and just as a million Frenchmen left Algeria. But even so it would be a mistake to take Kissinger at anything less than his word. He means to intervene if it comes to that, and he is not planning to do it with National Guard units from Illinois and suburban Los Angeles. No. He will do it, if he is allowed to do it at all, with the CIA.

This, in my usual round-about way, brings us back to the question of leaks and Daniel Schorr. The Angolan initiative was halted before it got out of control by a leak. What happened, apparently, was this. (I am indebted for most of this account to a story by Walter Pincus in the *Washington Post* of last December 22.) Sen. Dick Clark, a Democrat of Iowa and chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's subcommittee on Africa, learned of the CIA's embryonic program in Angola last July. The reason he learned of it is that a 1974 law says the CIA has to brief six separate congressional committees on covert operations, and when that many people know about something, the word gets out. Clark began asking questions and in August, during a trip to Zaire, he actually saw American arms being shipped to Angola.

This did not seem like a good idea to him, so he asked for a thorough CIA briefing on the situation for the full Foreign Relations Committee. In mid-December William Colby, then still director of the CIA, and Undersecretary of State Joseph Sisco, held the briefing, at which Clark raised objections. Because so many people were present, word of the meeting, and of the CIA operation in Angola, eventually got out and was published. Once the operation was public it collapsed of its own weight. Without that "leak"—that is, without public knowledge of the intervention—the U.S. might now be mired in a senseless, self-defeating war on the side of South Africa. It would not be another Vietnam in scale, but in wisdom.

Kissinger does not agree. Neither does the rest of the Ford administration. They want a leak-proof national security apparatus, which explains Ford's proposals for "reform" of the intelligence community announced on February 19. In some ways Ford's proposed legislation would eliminate past abuses, in most it would merely legalize what has been standard operating procedure all along, and in one important respect it would establish at least part of the Official Secrets Act contained in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Senate 1. [See *Commonweal* of February 13.] This last provision would outlaw disclosure—that is, "leaking"—of a broad range of "national security" information by officials and employes of government; it would provide for legal action to prevent such disclosure before it happened—that is, prior restraint of the press; and finally, it would restrict judicial consideration of the propriety of classification to *in camera*—that is, secret—proceedings. As with similar provisions of S.1., the main legal tool in Ford's law would not be the threat of imprisonment, but the right to use the FBI, grand juries and the like to discover the source of a leak.

Ford's position on this has been tougher than the Senate's, but even the Senate has taken strong steps to end leaks of secret information from CIA briefings. This is all the more puzzling when you consider that a senator has only two weapons against a nutty foreign adventure: his own eloquence, and public disclosure. Since the executive is not notably susceptible to oratory, that leaves only one—resort to the press—and yet the Senate is trying to ensure that its only effective weapon can't be used.

On February 24 the Senate Operations Committee voted to create an 11-member Senate Intelligence Oversight Committee, although Ford had pressed for a joint House-Senate committee to reduce the possibility of leaks by reducing the number of overseers. It also established a procedure for the release of classified information against the President's will, so long as the President had a chance to argue his case first, and so long as a minimum of three Intelligence Committee members could not persuade the Senate as a whole to override the Committee majority and vote against release of the information.

Perhaps the most significant power of the new committee, however, would be its right to take steps against Senators who leak information on their own. Any five Intelligence Committee members, or any sixteen senators at large, could force a hearing on charges of disclosure, and the possible sanctions on conviction range from a vote of censure all the way to expulsion from the Senate itself. I don't know how these strike you, but they strike me as very strong steps. So strong, in fact, they might reduce leaks to zero and persuade the administration and the intelligence community that congressmen can safely be trusted with the secrets of foreign policy.

The investigation of Daniel Schorr by the House Ethics Committee is thus only one more step in a broader government campaign to reimpose discipline on its employes, to protect its freedom to act as it thinks fit, and to prevent the truth of its actions from becoming public. The new system of oversight will be better than the old system, but that is about all you can say for it. The struggle over the intelligence community which has been going on for the last year is nearly over, and from here it looks as though secrecy won. The executive branch may have to surrender a point or two, and Congress may learn a bit more than it used to, but the press and the public are going to be left on the outside, as always.

In a sense, it doesn't much matter how Daniel Schorr decides to answer that painful question. If he tells the Committee what it wants to know, he will be humiliated and his informant's example will put the fear of the Inquisitor in every other government employe. If Schorr refuses to answer, whatever the ultimate consequences, his own troubles will make reporters think three times before risking a similar fate. The important thing is not whether the House Ethics Committee decides to destroy Schorr, a brilliant but unlucky man. It is that the House and the Senate alike have come down firmly on the side of secrecy.

THOMAS POWERS

TIME AGAIN

THE SCREEN

In the last issue I was explaining why I find Stanley Kubrick's *Barry Lyndon* a very beautiful film—not just a pretty film to look at, but one where meaning and order accrue from what we see. The significance of the film, or at least its signification, lies in its lighting. From sunlight it moves into candlelight, and then back into the sun again. Kubrick's ideas literally dawn on the film. Yet those ideas also have about them an aura of cynicism that typifies Kubrick's work. As the lighting brightens again in Part II of the film, after Barry (Ryan O'Neal) has wed Lady Lyndon (Marisa Berenson), Barry's own fortunes go into eclipse. The allegory of light with which Kubrick has surrounded these developments turns a Rake's Progress into a Pilgrim's Progress of an ironic, secular kind. The film becomes another of Kubrick's long, acerbic and dazzlingly eloquent essays on civilization.

As I was saying in my last column as well, *Barry Lyndon* has come in for much abuse from reviewers. They have tended to get impatient with the film. Not only is it merely pretty, some have complained, but it lingers over its own prettiness for more than three hours. It is too long and too slow. Admittedly, the pace of *Barry Lyndon* is one we are unaccustomed to in movies, and I wonder whether this hasn't cost the film the overwhelming popularity so expensive a production needs to make money. (Like Barry, a movie must take up ruinous obligations these days if it hopes to be grand and well-known.) This protracted quality which events have in the film results largely from zoom shots with which many scenes begin or end—zoom shots that move

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

so gradually and change our perspective so little, they are at times almost imperceptible. Such camera gestures are not just affectations, however, any more than the film's lighting is. Here as elsewhere, we see in *Barry Lyndon* a completely deliberate film. It is, on the one hand, an act of deliberation, an unhurried pondering of life; and on the other hand, Kubrick has made it that way deliberately—with a purpose.

That purpose has ultimately been informed by the Thackeray novel on which Kubrick's film is based, but before trying to get at Kubrick's purpose, it would help to notice how extensive the changes are that the film makes in the novel. Though we are used to thinking of classic novels as being diminished in movie adaptations —Kubrick's own *Lolita* encourages this notion—*Barry Lyndon* is expanded by its film version. In writing the adaptation, Kubrick has imposed on the story the cyclical, two-part structure described in my previous column, and he has thereby enlarged the story's emotions. While the film may initially give the illusion of being just as episodic and aimless as the novel, it's only an illusion. The structure Kubrick's direction has embedded in the very details of his film gives it a potential for cumulative effects that the novel doesn't have. The satire develops into something epic, and if we are at all open to the film, we find to our surprise that its foolishness eventually moves us. Where the novel trots us along from laugh to laugh, the film would translate us from laughter to tears.

How elastic Kubrick's adaptation is can be seen from the way he has played upon the death of Barry's first mentor, Capt. Grogan (Godfrey Quigley). Shot in battle, Grogan has Barry kiss him before he departs this world because, he says, "we'll ne'er meet in the next." This is all Kubrick's invention—in the novel Barry isn't even present when his friend dies—and it is in the film to signal an end of innocence of a sort that Thackeray never dreamed. As Grogan is Barry's last link with Ireland, it is his own youth Barry is kissing goodbye. Though the kiss is an intentionally startling image, there is nothing salacious about it. Its implication is that Barry is still a boy, capable of kissing Grogan full upon the mouth without self-consciousness. But a couple of scenes later Kubrick has made Barry witness to another intimacy between two men where the relationship plainly is sexual. While physical affection between two men provides a moment of tragedy in Grogan's death scene, it provides pure comedy now. While it reveals Barry's innocence with Grogan, it now reveals the fall from innocence of the world to which Grogan's death has abandoned Barry.

When Barry's own son dies Kubrick has put us in mind of Grogan's death once more, turning the mood grim again this time and intensifying this second loss to Barry by its associations with the first. The point, though, is not just that Kubrick has stretched Thackeray's material from the silly to the serious. It is that he has changed the novel so utterly, one wonders why he bothered with it at all. I think the answer to that returns us to the difficulties of time and timing in Kubrick's film.

What interested Kubrick in the novel was not, I suspect, its characters *per se*, but rather the problem Thackeray set himself in writing about them. There is a curious parallel between Thackeray and Kubrick here, a parallel that was to Kubrick, perhaps, an instructive one. I say this because Thackeray's novel is a first-person narrative, and it occurs to me that Thackeray's imaginative leap back 100 years into the mind of Barry may have seemed to Kubrick not very different from his own leap back an equal span into Thackeray's mind. By gauging the distance between Thackeray and Barry, Kubrick could judge more nearly the distance between Barry and himself. The authenticity Kubrick hoped for, beyond costumes and scenery, could only be provided by another historian whose own historical position gave him a better feel for the times. The invaluable thing that Thackeray offered Kubrick, then, was the nineteenth century's insight into the eighteenth.

This is, I believe, what all those slow, slight zoom shots are about. The insight Kubrick wanted was to be found not in any particular incident or character, but in the language which Thackeray put in Barry's mouth as the novel's storyteller. From that measured, periodic, highly rhetorical prose Kubrick has divined an age absorbed in minute self-examination—an age in which the mind's grasp of events was compound-complex no matter how elliptical the events themselves may have been. This was the Enlightenment speaking, or at least a popularized version of it, taming even the most outrageous human folly with the genteel voice of reason. This was perfect rationality delineating as sequence and consequence what had been instantaneous or simultaneous in events. That a nineteenth-century writer like Thackeray could only treat such habits of mind as a joke no doubt confirmed for Kubrick their uniquely eighteenth-century character.

But the dilations of time experienced by such a mentality are troublesome for movies to express, for it is the movies' nature to contract time rather than dilate it. Whereas prose like Barry's is a process of elaboration, the element of all cinematic statements is editing, which is a process of omission. It telescopes time instead of expanding it. No director has used editing more radically than Kubrick did in *2001* when he cut from a bone hurled by a prehistoric ape to a space station circling the earth 100,000 years later. But *2001*, being a film about the future, lends itself to such elisions of time. *Barry Lyndon* is a film about the past, and so, having leapt over whole millennia at a single cut in *2001*, in *Barry Lyndon* Kubrick has lingered in zoom shots over infinitesimal moments. Kubrick needed a camera

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gesture which would preserve the ritual of scrutiny that inheres in Thackeray's prose, and this is just what the incremented enlargement in a zoom lens is: a ritual of scrutiny. The slow time of *Barry Lyndon* which has made some of us restless is in fact its greatest stroke of originality. I think we shall all come to admire it, too, even though it may take a while.

COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR.

WM. SHAKESPEARE, ESQ.

MARK TAYLOR

William Shakespeare: A Documentary Life

S. SCHOENBAUM

Oxford, $50

The story of Shakespeare's life has been told by many of the greatest Elizabethan scholars, Malone, Halliwell-Phillipps, Sidney Lee, Chambers and G. E. Bentley among them; it has been told also, perhaps as often, by a varied array of special pleaders, fanatics, zanies and cranks. The incontestable records of Shakespeare's life, documents dating from his own time, pose singly and occasionally in combination legitimate problems for any biographer to address himself to; but the solutions offered by too many biographies have been at variance with these real problems or they have been given to pseudo-questions of the biographer's contriving. The desire to say fully and well all that can be said about Shakespeare is perfectly understandable, but it is not this desire that has actuated all his biographers. And although, as the commonplace has it, more is known about Shakespeare than any other playwright contemporary with him except Ben Jonson, he is not therefore the most splendid, or even the most obvious, of subjects for biographers, not, anyway, for many biographers.

A great deal is indeed known about Shakespeare the man. Certain sorts of material abound: deeds to property, his will, references made during his lifetime to him and his work, his name on the title pages of some of the quarto editions of his plays, family birth and burial records, evidence of frequent litigation, and so forth. All of this allows a reasonably detailed account of the man's life, albeit one with regrettable gaps, but it is the man seen almost wholly from the outside. Added up, the material tells us much that we want and need to know, and much that is of intrinsic interest, but it does not point toward a figure of tangible ambiguity, an enigmatic presence riven by unresolved contraries. Shakespeare provides no subject for the analyst or psycho-historian, and yet how often he has done so.

Milton is exactly opposite Shakespeare in this regard. The records of his life are, of course, much fuller still than those for Shakespeare, and the more deeply one gets into them, the more likely one's own temperament is to collide at some point with his, the more likely the student is to perceive, or imagine himself perceiving, deep paradox where Milton himself saw complementary parts. Milton's poetry is far more attractive to most people today than his politics or his theology, and it is perhaps a natural tendency to probe for the human essence that can have produced impressions of such imbalance. A surpassingly masterful biography, like William Riley Parker's recent work, is possible, but it will always contain material—because Milton's life contained material—to excite further responsible interpretations.

The proven curiosities in Shakespeare's life are of different order. For example, he appears to have been rather well-regarded by his contemporaries; in an age characterized by extraordinarily rancorous attacks of writer against writer, that is, Shakespeare has the not negligible distinction of having been very little savaged and of having had paid to him a number of handsome tributes. That is a fact about the man, and it may be, as things go, a bizarre fact, but it is not something that demands a solution or interpretation.

There are, again, some overtly tantalizing matters. When one first learns that Shakespeare had a son named Hamnet, who died in 1596, it must be impossible not to wonder what was in Shakespeare's mind when, about four years later, he decided to tell the story of Hamlet. Hamnet and his twin sister Judith were apparently named for Shakespeare's Stratford friends and neighbors, Hamnet and his wife Judith Sadler. In 1615 Hamnet Sadler was one of the witnesses to Shakespeare's will, which left a small bequest to him, representing him as "Hamlett Sadler." The will is almost certainly not in Shakespeare's hand, but someone—Shakespeare himself?—had to represent Hamnet Sadler to the scribe as "Hamlett" unless the forms were interchangeable. Either circumstance stimulates one's interest, but neither allows us to penetrate the man Shakespeare. With Matthew Arnold, we can only ask and ask.

It is not, however, that the biographer never illumines some small part of what is dark in Shakespeare.

MARK TAYLOR, *a professor of English at Manhattan College, contributes a regular literary column to these pages.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But where he does, it is usually because new evidence has appeared, not because of shrewdly interpretive psychologizing. One source of nearly endless speculation has been another bequest in the will, the famous gift to his wife Anne of "my second best bed." This oddity has been explained in essentially two ways as evidence of strong positive or negative feelings. On the one hand, some think, the best bed would have been saved for guests, and the second best would indeed have been the one of tender memories; on the other hand, it is argued, that it is only the second best bed shows that Shakespeare was, at least by that very late moment in his life, cross, petty, even contemptuous. In his 1961 biography, *Shakespeare in Warwickshire,* however, Mark Eccles described another will, written about forty years earlier, in which one William Palmer made a virtually identical bequest to his wife and in the same place made also, as Shakespeare did not, an unmistakably loving reference to her. There may well be some small Elizabethan custom that yet eludes us, but Eccles's discovery rather diminishes, though it cannot eradicate, the likelihood of Shakespeare's bitterness.

Neither can it give us the inner man; those biographers determined to find him have invariably gone elsewhere, to the work itself, to the plays and poems where (they have said) the life is writ wholly if obscurely (thus demanding a biographer and justifying his labors). So, for example, we may learn that Shakespeare wrote himself into certain dramatic characters, like the infinitely complex Hamlet or the almost omnipotent Prospero; or that some acute personal crisis precipitated the great tragedies of the early 1600's; or that, above all, there exists some demonstrable similarity between the facts of Shakespeare's life and the story in his *Sonnets,* that there was a real-life anticipation of the poet-young friend-rival poet-dark lady quadrilateral. Not, of course, that everyone has turned to the *Sonnets* for help or realized the riches they contain. "It is almost inexplicable," A. L. Rowse once grumbled from his Olympian perch, "that his biographers should have written their biographies of Shakespeare without taking account of his autobiography"—i.e., the *Sonnets*—"except that they were men of little imagination and I suppose they found the full story too uncomfortable."

Even the mighty Shakespeare, one supposes, noted stronger resemblances between himself and certain of his characters than others, though Kittredge warned wisely and long ago against our taking any of the work as autobiographical. It may always be that the passions and circumstances of the *Sonnets* were Shakespeare's own, although so perfectly do his sonnets parody the other sonnet sequences of his day, so utterly do they invert standard conventions, so strenuously do they insist that life isn't art, that I myself usually doubt it. But the trap is that even if the *Sonnets* are in a way autobiographical, or if the plays are, we don't know what that way is, *pace* Dr. Rowse, we can't—as we might if there were letters, journals, almost anything to show us the meager cloddy earth before it was turned to glittering gold —and so a reliable life will not draw biographical inferences from them.

When Bernard Shaw objected to John Barrymore's London production of *Hamlet,* he wrote the actor, "Instead of giving what is called a reading of Hamlet, you say, in effect, 'I am not going to read Hamlet at all: I am going to leave it out. But see what I give you in exchange!' " Too many books on the man Shakespeare (who can't approach Hamlet as a subject for biography) have left him out and given us something else in exchange, a phantom adrift from the facts, an entertainment, a fictional creation that will very rarely possess the candor of Anthony Burgess's novel *Nothing like the Sun,* "A Story of Shakespeare's Love-life," which happily owns up to its fictional identity.

The history of genuine and ersatz Shakespearean biography—with its triumphs and excesses, its devoted scholars and well-intentioned frauds, its acts of homage and impertinence—is a fascinating story in its own right (apart, that is, from its necessarily adding to our knowledge of Shakespeare); it was given to us in minute detail and comprehensive scope by Samuel Schoenbaum in 1970 in *Shakespeare's Lives,* an account of every substantive contribution to the subject whether or not influential and honest in purpose. In that volume, judiciously weighing the successes and failures of the biographers, Professor Schoenbaum implicitly offered us his own life of Shakespeare: if so much of the work of biographer X is correct, then so much is true about Shakespeare. At the beginning of the book Schoenbaum stated explicitly, in fact, that such a life would emerge. But we might say that the life of Shakespeare there is secondary to the lives and works of his biographers; it is real but it exists in the interstices of another subject. The whole picture is present but in the sense that a whole picture is present in a photographic negative where lights and shades are reversed.

In *William Shakespeare: A Documentary Life* Schoenbaum now gives us in an exquisitely handsome print the positive of that picture. As the title implies, however, that is not all he gives us. There survive more than 200 documents germane to Shakespeare's life—directly so, as with his will, and more obliquely, as with the will of Anne Hathaway's father. Several modern books contain full or partial transcriptions of some, or most, of these documents; and a couple of the documents, the will, for instance, have been frequently photographed for supplementary inclusion in other biographies. But there has not been, before this, one volume in which all the relevant documents have been reproduced. That Schoenbaum has now provided such a volume is an incalculable contribution to scholarship, for it will always be necessary to refer controversy over the contents of a document to the document itself or to its exact likeness. Elizabethan handwriting is so difficult to read that there perhaps cannot be the utterly authori-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tative transcription; we need the original or its image. Furthermore, the documents are widely dispersed, and many scholars cannot afford the travel essential to examine them all; but despite this difficulty, as Schoenbaum points out, the documents have been picked over so often by now that many are in a state of advanced decay and promise to be still further by time's fell hand defaced unless, as we may now hope, they can be left alone.

It was recently observed, and rightly, that "the Great Divide between the old and the new" in most areas of Shakespeare studies is Sir Edmund Chambers's two-volume *William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems* (1930). Although much estimable work has been done since then, it has all been in the nature of supplementing Chambers, as Schoenbaum remarked of the Eccles biography in *Shakespeare's Lives*, rather than superseding him; products of the particular sort of scrupulousness and rigor that Chambers brought to his task do not easily become obsolete. Indeed, Chambers may continue to be the most easily accessible source of (often only partial) transcriptions of most of the Shakespearean documents—production costs and the size of an already large book prevented Schoenbaum from providing them—although there are others. It is instructive, nevertheless, to compare even superficially the work of Chambers and Schoenbaum, and to do so will correct the impression I may have inadvertently created that *A Documentary Life*, with its original records, many in a bewildering secretary hand, is exclusively for the scholar.

Much of Chambers is concerned with the canon of the plays—matters of text, date and so forth—but there are three separate parts that are essentially biographical: the first three chapters on Shakespeare's origin, stage and acting company; an appendix of transcriptions of records; and another appendix on "The Shakespeare-Mythos," those legends of greatly varying authority and likelihood that have collected about the poet ever since his own lifetime. Chambers's sustained success in separating fact from legend is partly responsible for the lasting achievement of his work, but that he treated different materials in different places suggests correctly that his book is for reference to part, not consumption of whole. It contains little narrative as such.

Schoenbaum, too, provides an ample historical and social context, considerably updated over nearly half a century; all that is recorded about the life in contemporary documents; and the mythos of probable and improbable supposition and hearsay, carefully differentiated one from another, but he presents them simultaneously as part of a single unfolding narrative, which is immensely readable, not only because it is informed by "the entire tradition of Shakespearian biographical scholarship," but also because of the biographer's own majestic prose. Here is one sentence on the *Henry VI* plays: "Strictly speaking, the documentary biographer should stand aloof from criticism, whether interpretive or judgmental, but it seems permissible to savour the fact that Shakespeare, while still in his twenties, had conceived and executed a sequence of historical dramas of a scale and complexity entirely novel to the London stage." *A Documentary Life* along with *Shakespeare's Lives* will furnish the authoritative source for reference on biographical matters, and it does contain facsimiles of the documents, which will greatly speed and ease the scholar's task. But for anyone interested in Shakespeare the man, for the amateur, it is also a life story accurately and elegantly told.

BOOKS

WAR AS LITERARY EXPERIENCE

BERNARD BERGONZI

The Great War and Modern Memory

PAUL FUSSELL

Oxford U. Press, $13.95

Americans who write about English culture often get it wrong, in ways that jar on the British reader. They may not know enough, and even if their information cannot be faulted they may still miss the point or convey a false impression. On the other hand, some Americans have achieved a broader and more perceptive view of English affairs than most English writers, precisely because they can look at the situation with an unprejudiced eye.

The necessary blend of detachment and knowledge and sympathy was, I think, shown by William Abrahams and Peter Stansky in their studies of the 1930s and the early career of George Orwell, and it is equally apparent in Paul Fussell's remarkable new book. He is interested in the inter-penetration of literature and history in the British experience of the Western Front in 1914-1918, in the way in which the soldiers' immediate experience was often apprehended in literary terms, and the literary means in which it was later recalled, codified and, ultimately, mythologized. In Mr. Fussell's words, "I have tried to understand something of the simultaneous and reciprocal process by which life feeds materials to literature while literature returns

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the favour by conferring forms upon life."

Methodologically, this is a very up-to-date book, since it rests on assumptions that are much more common now than fifteen or twenty years ago. I refer, first, to the idea that "reality" is not some kind of raw, unformed flux but is necessarily shaped and limited in the very act of understanding by the pre-existing categories of the mind; and secondly to the belief that a poem, or other literary text, can never be a totally unique entity, however original in theme and feeling, since it inevitably uses and modifies existing literary codes and conventions. Mr. Fussell brilliantly illustrates these considerations in a series of chapters on the various categories through which front-line experience was mediated. He is marvelously illuminating about simple instances. Thus, as a matter of history, the most crucial parts of the day at the front were dawn—when attacks might be launched—and dusk—when raiding parties would set out. The sky was always visible from the trenches, and sunrise and sunset were much more apparent to the soldier than to the civilian town-dweller. The peculiar significance of dawn is conveyed in one of the finest front-line poems, Isaac Rosenberg's "Break of Day in the Trenches." Mr. Fussell reminds us that a whole tradition of describing skies and sunrises and sunsets had grown out of Ruskin's *Modern Painters*—it is conspicuous, for instance, in Hopkins's letters and journals—and during the war it directed both the observation of such things, and the literary response to them, whether in poems or memoirs or private letters. It was, as Mr. Fussell says, a very literary war. The Englishmen of 1914 were at a high pitch of literacy. The young officers, who wrote most of the literature of the war, had received a classical education, and were extremely well read in English poetry, so that Shakespeare and Milton, Wordsworth and Keats, would be constantly quoted or alluded to when they wrote about the war, either publicly, in established literary forms, or privately, in their correspondence. English poetry provided a sense of identity and continuity, a bizarre world as well as a mode of means of accommodating to life in a consolation. To quote Mr. Fussell again, "the *Oxford Book of English Verse* presides over the Great War in a way that has never been sufficiently appreciated."

The private soldiers, though less well educated and less given to literary allusions, were still part of a traditional verbal culture, not yet affected by the electronic media, and many of them naturally expressed themselves in the idiom of the English Bible and *Pilgrim's Progress*. Englishmen of all classes, enduring a seemingly endless war, could readily see the water-logged battlefields of Pas-

> *Recourse to the pastoral is an English mode of both fully gauging the calamities of the Great War and imaginatively protecting oneself against them. Pastoral reference, whether to literature or to actual rural localities and objects, is a way of invoking a code to hint by antithesis at the indescribable; at the same time, it is a comfort in itself, like rum, a deep dugout, or a woolly vest.*
>
> —The Great War and Modern Memory

schendaele as a literal Slough of Despond. Again, many of the poems by Wilfred Owen and others, lamenting the premature deaths of fine young men were in an ancient tradition reaching back to classical pastoral. But they had a more immediate source in the curious *fin de siècle* cult of the Uranian love, which produced poems of sublimated devotion to young men, usually called "boys" or "lads." This mode of feeling, the author suggests, might be called "homoerotic" rather than overtly or consciously homosexual, and it has evident roots in the culture of the English public school. Housman was a distinguished poetic exponent of such sentiments, and there is a striking sense in which Owen gives a terrible new content to the literary wistfulness of *A Shropshire Lad*. As Mr. Fussell notes, Owen's "sad shires" sounds like a deliberate distorted echo of Housman's "coloured counties." Such a realization does not detract at all from the originality of Owen's poems; but it indicates the complex fusion of tradition and unprecedented reality that formed them.

Owen and Rosenberg did not survive the war. Others, such as Siegfried Sassoon, Robert Graves, Edmund Blunden and David Jones, did, and in later years returned to their wartime life in autobiographical works. These records are in no way unmediated transcripts of personal experience; they are carefully formed, directed and controlled by literary categories, and have in turn, helped to shape our own understanding of the Great War. Graves's *Goodbye to All That*, so vivid and relaxed a narrative, might well strike an unwary reader as simply "telling it like it was." But, as Mr. Fussell shows, it is a most conscious and crafty book, where practically everything that Graves sees and undergoes is presented as a form of Jonsonian farce, and where the narrative is a tissue of tall stories. It is also profoundly true; but it has the truth of literature rather than of unadorned documentary. The Great War lives on, in all sorts of unsuspected ways, even in the casual clichés of our bureaucratized daily life, where one is "bombarded with forms" or faces a "barrage of complaints"; where negotiators adopt "entrenched positions" but still hope for a "breakthrough"; and where such once precise terms as "to go over the top" or be in "no man's land" survive as metaphors whose original force is half-forgotten. Pursuing his argument, Mr. Fussell finds many elements of the British experience of the First World War surviving as myth or convention in American novels about the Second, by Mailer and Heller and Pynchon.

I found this book totally fascinating and almost totally convincing. My occasional reservations arose from a suspicion that Mr. Fussell sometimes

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

claims too much. I readily believe that irony as a dominant mode of modern literary consciousness arose from the bitter disappointments and betrayed idealism of 1914-1918; but I doubt if implacable oppositions in cultural models were also, as he argues, a result of the war. After all the "class war," perhaps the most implacable and enduring instance of such oppositions was, as a concept, a product of Victorian England. The chapter where Mr. Fussell tries to establish this case, called "Adversary Proceedings," seemed to me weaker than the rest, and it is the one place where Mr. Fussell seems slightly to fudge the evidence. At least, he implies that the violent rhetoric and antagonisms expressed by Ezra Pound and Wyndham Lewis in *Blast* were a wartime phenomenon, whereas the first issue of *Blast* came out before the war, if only by a few weeks. Otherwise, Mr. Fussell displays only the defects of his qualities; that is to say, he has read so widely and throws out so many ideas that he sometimes tries to follow too many at once and so loses the thread of his argument. This apart, his book is a *tour de force*, a superb combination of acute critical analysis and informed cultural history.

Rome and Canterbury: Through Four Centuries

BERNARD & MARGARET PAWLEY

Seabury, $13.50

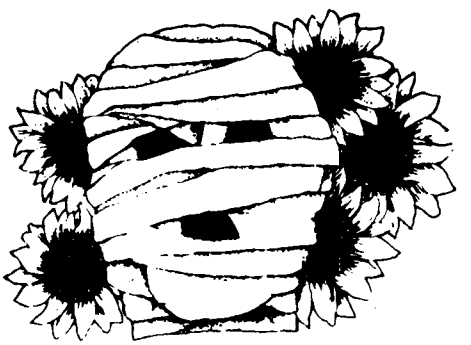
Prophet of Reunion: The Life of Paul of Graymoor

CHARLES ANGELL & CHARLES LAFONTAINE

Seabury, $6.95

NORRIS MERCHANT

However "ultramontane" his reputation, Joseph de Maistre acknowledged the unique role the Anglican Church, as a composition of opposites, might play on the road to Christian reunion, though he quipped about its paradoxical status as "a rebel that preaches obedience." Like many churchmen of the day, Maistre benefitted from the post-French Revolutionary renewal of mutual interest on the part of Anglicans and Roman Catholics. "Catholic Emancipation" had by then become a viable political point of view in England. Burke's eloquent ruminations, along with the activity of the guillotine, had significantly raised the compassionate appreciation of French Christianity; and intermittently during the reigns of Pius VI and Pius VII Britain came to be regarded, in Rome, as the keystone of counter-revolutionary and, later, of counter-Napoleonic strategies. The forces of romanticism and religion were about to converge in a common reaction to Jacobinism and the first fruits of mass industrial civilization. A somewhat rarefied ecumenism was one of the beneficiaries of these events. Nostalgic medievalism, accompanied by Catholic conversions, was equally gaining ground among certain fashionable folk



SIMON WIESENTHAL

The Sunflower

A NOVELLA WITH A SYMPOSIUM

A young Jew is taken from a death-camp to the bedside of a dying Nazi soldier. In a cracked whisper the soldier confesses to having participated in the burning alive of an entire village of Jews. The soldier, terrified of dying with the burden of his guilt, begs absolution from the Jew. The Jew, torn between horror and compassion for the dying man, listens in silence; then walks from the room. The soldier dies, unforgiven.

Can evil be forgiven? What would you have done?

Among those who respond to the question are *Abraham J. Heschel, Martin Marty, John M. Oesterreicher, Cynthia Ozick, Herbert Gold, Jacques Maritain, Hans Habe, Edward H. Flannery,* and *Herbert Marcuse.*

THE SUNFLOWER—a question of forgiveness from evil. What would you do?

$7.50 at your bookstore or from

SCHOCKEN BOOKS

200 Madison Avenue, New York 10016

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

on hitherto Protestant terrain in both Germany and England (and for her own vintage Burke, Germany supplied the converted Jacobin, Joseph von Görres). Yet men of a like temper, equally scandalized by modern secularization, but who did not in England follow Newman in converting, managed so to change the face of their own Church of England in matters like Eucharistic observance, the founding of religious orders, and superficies of vesture and decor, that as a result 20th century Anglicanism often bore little resemblance to itself, a hundred years before. Bernard and Margaret Pawley nevertheless demonstrate, in a book of comprehensive research, that this seemingly inevitable convergence, in response to the turbulent challenges of a revolutionary ethos, had distinguished precursors among Roman Catholics and Anglicans in every century since the Elizabethan Settlement.

For instance James I, however derisively remembered for an awkward erudition or his partiality to mignons, must rank among the forerunners of conciliation (". . . we all worship the same blessed Trinity," he wrote Gregory XV), but the Gunpowder Plot foiled his hopes; reunion projects were likewise constantly bruited under Charles I (or was he "St. Charles the Martyr," as he is styled in some recent Anglican calendars?), involving several well-received papal agents, the Queen's (Roman Catholic) Chaplain, Franciscus a Sancta Clara, who penned a treatise on the doctrine of Justification and the 39 Articles, and that controversial prelate, William Laud himself. But Archbishop Laud was to precede his monarch in an unenviable fate, and whether that too is to be regarded as potentially sanctifiable will doubtless depend on the comparative evaluation of an uncompromising, albeit theologically liberal Anglican Catholicism, which was Laud's, and of his equally intransigent anti-Puritanism, which ruined him.

At a later date, abetted by a belligerent Gallicanism and the severity of Clement XI's proscription of the Jansenists, Anglicanism received an appreciative airing at the Sorbonne. Indeed the correspondence of Dr. Louis Du Pin and then Archbishop of Canterbury, William Wake, in 1718, involved themes that were to be considerably amplified later, such as the Pope's possible primacy of honor, rather than of rule, in a united Church. Another whose remarkable prematurity marked him as eccentric in his day was the Abbé Pierre François Le Courayer. His defense of the validity of Anglican Orders, in 1721, preceded by a hundred and seventy-five years, and contradicted, the findings of Leo XIII's famous Commission, undertaken when a hierarchical competition had unfortunately gotten under way in England. Courayer settled in England, attended Anglican services (which he regarded as Catholic), died as a loyal Roman Catholic, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. Nonetheless, the most colorful, and sometimes startling, attempts to amalgamate were epiphenomenal to that frequently flamboyant reactionary revolution, the Oxford Movement.

Most of the Pawleys' chapters thus deal with "post-Oxford" laborers, such as the assiduously prayerful optimist, Ambrose Phillips de Lisle. ("They will find in me one who will never give in but with my dying breath.") De Lisle, a Catholic convert, favored a Uniate scheme for reconciling Anglicanism. His hopes were to culminate in the "Order for Corporate Reunion," an amalgam that included Roman Catholics and Anglicans and people who, somehow, claimed to be both. In 1877 the Order magnificently produced, on the steps of St. Paul's, three Anglicans, two of them priests, who could boast of being properly (if surreptitiously) consecrated Catholic bishops,

There have not been wanting critics who have accused both the Church of Rome and the Anglican churches of failing to show fruits of renewal proportionate to their talk about reunion. Yet the Church of Rome has shown remarkable signs of change since the Vatican Council —some directly as a consequence of it, some originating in other causes. A few examples illustrate the theme. First among such changes are those which have been initiated by the Pope himself, and they are so many and so extensive as to entitle Paul VI to be thought of as the greatest reformer of the Roman Catholic Church since Hildebrand.

—Rome and Canterbury:
Through Four Centuries

New England Institute for Pastoral and Social Ministry

AUGUST 2-13, 1976

Director

DAVID O'BRIEN, Ph.D., Professor of History, Holy Cross College, Worcester, Massachusetts; author of "The Renewal of American Catholicism"

Liturgical Coordinator

KEN MELTZ, Director of Liturgy and Music, Paulist Center, Boston

For Complete Descriptive Folder:

ANDREA ROY, Program Coordinator, Stonehill College

The Catholic Committee on Urban Ministry
The Weston School of Theology
Stonehill College

Stonehill College

EASTON, MASSACHUSETTS 02356

TILLICH STUDIES: 1975

Edited by John J. Carey

Papers prepared for the founding meeting of the North American Paul Tillich Society in Chicago, Illinois, October 31, 1975.

Essays on Tillich as an interpreter of Christian thought, as a political theologian, as a theologian of culture, and as an ethicist.

Order from

The North American Paul Tillich Society, Department of Religion, Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL 32306. Cost: $3.00 (includes shipping)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with episcopal orders acceptable to Rome and Constantinople. Their goal, the convergence of priesthoods, has in fact somewhat confused them with the strains of lineage no doubt extant through their many ordinations.

Corporate *conversion,*—as distinct from merging—the first since the Reformation, was the road chosen by Father Lewis Wattson (later, Father Paul of Graymoor) when he led his Episcopal community of the Atonement, in Garrison, New York, into the Catholic Church in 1909. The group's ecumenically conceived move, it was hoped, might become a model for Anglicanism as a whole, in some future shift. There is some suggestion that Father Paul and his associate, Mother Lurana, reserved a private belief in the validity of their previous Anglican ministrations. Certainly their periodical *The Lamp*, and the Chair of Unity Octave observance fostered by Father Paul turned the thoughts of many others in a common direction and, today, Graymoor is an ecumenical cynosure, with its noted Christian Unity Center.

Charles Angell and Charles LaFontaine, members of the Society, have provided a timely biography of Father Paul in *Prophet of Reunion*. They pose an essentially uncritical account of Father Paul's uniquely medieval ways, which had about them a touch of 19th century Romantic-Oxford ecumenism. Did Augustus Welby Pugin repudiate churchbuildings *sans* rood screens, Roman-style chasubles, and mixed choirs while hoping to convert Catholics and high Anglicans to the principles of "True Christian" (i.e., Gothic) aesthetics? Well, in America Father Paul, striking a more vital point, at once Franciscan and worldly-wise, renounced the physical *touching* of filthy lucre—for most of his life. The fact that he became a notable fundraiser in spite of it—his biographers seem to regard that as a most substantial accreditation—and that he combined such a winning atavism with the shallowest and most fear-engendering denunciations of Marxism current in his day remind one of the then primitive stage of his ecumenist agony. Today, in the greater maturity of its generous spirit, one would hope, that drive towards unity embraces the non-Christian revelations, and the social revolutionary creeds too (based as they are on solid needs of body and spirit) in its sweep of compassionate insight. Or at least it seeks to understand, wherever there was once a curse.

John Trumbull: Patriot-Artist of the American Revolution

IRMA B. JAFFE

New York Graphic Society, $29.50

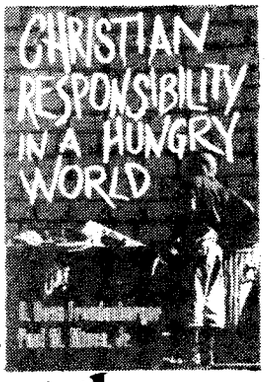
WAYNE ANDREWS

John Trumbull, who had the wit to record on his canvasses the Battle of Bunker Hill and so many other events of the American Revolution so soon after they occurred, was a painter with a problem. He was half an artist and half a Trumbull. He must have been aware now and then of his predicament and could not very well object to all the attention paid this topic by his most conscientious biographer, Irma Jaffe of Fordham University.

"Architecture, Sculpture, Painting and Poetry have conspired against the Rights of Mankind; and the Protestant Religion is now unpopular and Odious because it is not friendly to the Fine Arts. I am not, however, a Disciple of Rousseau. Your country ought to acknowledge itself more indebted to you than to any other Artist who ever existed; and I therefore heartily wish you success. But I must beg Pardon of my Country, when I say that I See no disposition to celebrate or remember, or even Curiosity to enquire into the Characters Actions or Events of the Revolution. I am therefore more inclined to despair, than to hope for your Success in Congress though I wish it with all my heart."

—John Adams to John Trumbull

"NEVER BEFORE HAVE SO MANY SUFFERED SO MUCH FROM HUNGER."



How must the thousands of well-fed Christians in the U.S.A. respond?

CHRISTIAN RESPONSIBILITY IN A HUNGRY WORLD is written in response to those in our affluent, well-fed society who are concerned and who want to respond to the cries of a hungry world. It is also written to help reach those who need to become concerned.

The authors, an agronomist and a theologian, have combined biblical wisdom with a sociological analysis of the causes and possible solutions to the problem. They propose some positive answers that can provide bread and justice for all. Specific guidelines are included for those groups and individuals who are ready to become involved. This book should be required reading for all Christians!

Christian Responsibility in a Hungry World

by C. Dean Freudenberger and Paul Minus, Jr.

Paper, $2.50

at your local bookstore

abingdon

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

And what did it mean to be a Trumbull? John's father, a trader, farmer and shipbuilder in the little town of Lebanon, Connecticut, who rose to be governor of the colony in 1769, was not the man to forget that a certain reverence was due his station. As the Marquis de Chastellux put it, "he has all the simplicity in his dress, all the importance, and even pedantry becoming the great magistrate of a small republic." Young John looked on all this and was impressed. Midway in his career he referred to "that happiest part of the globe, Connecticut, where the follies of wealth and the meanness of poverty are alike unknown."

"Poverty," he reasoned when contemplating Gilbert Stuart's misfortunes, "is a crime, as it can only be the consequence of idleness." Yet this righteous man was an artist, no matter if he dwelled a little too long on an artist's social position when pleading with his father for the chance to study with Copley in Boston. "You forget, sir," Governor Trumbull reminded him, "that Connecticut is not Athens."

He could not stop sketching while an undergraduate at Harvard, and by 1780 was studying at Stuart's side under Benjamin West in London. His talent was evident, especially in the portrayal of Bunker Hill he began in 1786, when he was turning 30. There is a glow to his early canvasses, painted when he could forget he was a Trumbull. His tragedy was that he could never recapture this fervor in later years.

He had, it seems, too many careers, too many opportunities of displaying his social standing. Joining the First Regiment of Connecticut in 1775, he became Washington's second aide-de-camp. Then, disgusted by the lateness of date on his commission, he returned it the second he received it. "I look upon myself as insulted," he wrote. "From this day I lay aside my cockade and sword, never to resume them until I can do it with honor."

He also fancied himself a diplomat, and it is true that he did not make a fool of himself in London assisting John Jay with the latter's treaty. But there was always the danger he would lose his temper as he did on the day he found Thomas Jefferson entertaining a rank deist. "I would not trust such a man with the honor of a wife, a sister or a daughter," he told Jefferson, putting an end to his friendship with the master of Monticello.

As a businessman he speculated in brandy, tobacco and old masters he never could unload on the London market. His ventures were one mistake after another, as any businessman could have guessed on examining Trumbull's estimates of his wealth. In these estimates his unsold paintings were valued at what they might but never did bring.

For seven years he did not touch a brush. When he did get back to work, he himself was shocked by the results. "I have been suffering severe mortification finding in how great a degree I had lost the powers I once possessed," he confessed to his brother. By the time he won, sponsored by old John Adams, the commission for four huge paintings in the Capitol—he was paid $8,000 each for rendering the Declaration of Independence, Cornwallis at Worktown, Burgoyne at Saratoga, and Washington resigning his commission—it was obvious that the flame had faded.

Burdened by an alcoholic wife whom he could not easily introduce into polite society, Trumbull unfortunately accepted the presidency of New York's American Academy of Fine Arts, where he was not always as generous as he might have been to the students. "They must remember beggars are not to be choosers," he notified the younger generation. Yet he did redeem himself by saluting the talent of the then unrecognized Thomas Cole, admitting that he "has done what I have all my life attempted in vain." By 1831 he was so discouraged that he made over all of his paintings to Yale in return for an annuity of $1,000 a year. Twelve years later he died, disheartened by the reception of his autobiography.

Trumbull has found a judicious biographer in Irma Jaffe. Has he found a friend? One misses in these pages the affection E. P. Richardson has spent on Allston and Peale or the late Theodore Sizer on Trumbull himself.

Saint Joseph College

Summer 1976

Graduate Institute on Contemporary Christian Thought

For lay persons, priests, men and women religious

M.A.—RELIGIOUS STUDIES

June 28-July 9
• **Charles E. Curran**
Foundations of a Christian Moral Theology

July 12-July 23
• **Alan J. Broadhead, M.D.**
Psychology of Religion

July 26-August 6
• **Tad W. Guzie, S.J.**
Theology of Sacrament

WORKSHOP: The Parish as a Source of Social Change

For information write:
Reverend John J. Stack, Director

Saint Joseph College
1678 Asylum Avenue
West Hartford, Conn. 06117
Tel: (203) 232-4571, Ext. 261 or 205

PLATIGNUM ITALIC SET

Contains a fountain pen, five Italic nibs, and instruction manual, all for only $5.00... At art material & pen shops, college book stores...or send check to Pentalic Corp., 132 West 22 St., N.Y., N.Y. 10011 Add 50 cents for handling.

IN BRIEF

DO BLACK PATENT LEATHER SHOES REALLY REFLECT UP? *by John R. Powers. Regnery, $7.95.* John R.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Powers' "fictionalized memoir" is an example of nostalgia at its worst. A sentimental, cliché-ridden account of the author's experience at a Catholic boys high school, the book thrives on the type of humor that would not be out of place on a second-rate television situation comedy. It is hardly original to say that the Latin teacher was so old, "it was a strong possibility that Latin was his native tongue." The humor could have been copied right off the wall of a stall in any Catholic high school john.

Powers tells us nothing that makes his high school experience unique. His anti-academic bias ("Unless you plan on becoming a priest, there is no reason in the world to learn Latin.") and his clearly pre-Vatican II mentality are disturbing. There are predictable cheap shots at an old-fashioned Catholic morality that has become obsolete. "Jimmy Heidi's parents were extremely good Catholics," Powers writes. "They had eleven children. Their religious fervor had been restrained only by the onset of Mrs. Heidi's menopause." When Powers' sophomoric brand of humor subsides, poor taste and cynicism take over. For Powers "Catholicism was always having to say 'I'm sorry.'"

It is sad that Powers' own perspectives on his religion and his education were ever so limited, and sadder still that they remained that way.

DENNIS VELLUCCI

● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●

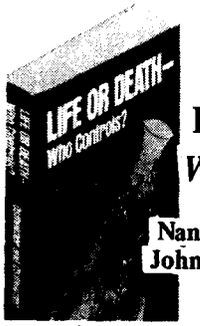
Steinfels (Cont.)

The circle of non-communication could not have become more vicious. In their neat home with roses, trimmed lawn, and patio, husband and wife have built themselves a hell of Sartrean dimensions. Doubts linger in my mind about the degree of exposure in this episode; but the couple's tragedy, one feels certain, is not a rare one, and it would be the exceptional man or woman who could view it without humbly searching his or her own heart.

From that sad episode the film moves to a concluding portrait that is virtually an Easter *Gloria*. The dying man is a black preacher; his church is the kind with nothing on the walls but a neon cross behind the pulpit. In the love and courage of his wife and in the flourishing of his grandchildren he sees God's covenant; truly he walks in the shadow of death and he does not fear. His last words in the film are a gentle "thank you"; they are spoken when someone removes a bedpan, yet spoken as though for a life viewed as an exchange of kindnesses. The funeral that follows is the community's, and the film's, "thank you" for him.

One way of seeing *Dying* is as a statement about living. The essential character of each person intensifies as death approaches; the arrows of each life follows a trajectory long since set. That view makes sense, but then so did Job's consolers. Once we make it our premise, we can read backwards into a past what we might not have been able to read there otherwise—that one man's marriage was weak, that another's faith was strong.

In what sense can we say that we die as we live? The question is examined in another way by *Gramp* (Grossman/Viking, $5.95), a photographic record of an old man's passage through senility to an apparently willed death. Like *Dying*, *Gramp* contains the elements of medical drama—should the old coal miner be consigned to a nursing home he would hate, should he be hospitalized and kept alive through intravenous feeding when he finally refuses to eat? Yet the emphasis here is on a family's attempt to accept and care for the altered and unpredictable, the ornery and childish individual which Gramp had become. In this case the strands of continuity were held by others, though they were certainly the family ties that Gramp himself had lived by in his prime. At the end Gramp removes his false teeth, spits out all solids, and declares he is just going to lie on his bed "until it happens." Three weeks later it does. Here was a victory of sorts, but was it the victory of the old Gramp of family



NEW BOOKS!

Life or Death
Who Controls?

Nancy C. Ostheimer and John M. Ostheimer, *Ph.D.*, *editors*

To what extent should we use technology and science to interfere with the natural birth and death cycle? Here are pro and con views on euthanasia, abortion, sterilization, and eugenics, in contributions by E. Kübler-Ross, John T. Noonan, Marya Mannes, and others. *256 pp., $12.50 cloth; $7.95 paper* NEW

The Psychology of Death
Concise Edition
by Robert Kastenbaum, *Ph.D.* and Ruth Aisenberg, *Ph.D.*

The fascinating, highly praised study of our cultural, philosophic, and anthropological views of death—now in concise edition. Topics include: Death as a thought. Facing the thought of death. The cultural milieu of death: yesterday and today. Suicide. Murder. Accidents. Illness. *456 pp. $9.95 paper* NEW

The Family's Role in Soviet Education
by Ludwig Liegle, *Ph.D.*

Research study based largely on original Soviet sources, showing how the realities of Soviet life—with particular reference to women—measure up against Marxist ideology and official policy. *192 pp., $9.95 cloth; $5.95 paper* 1975

Order Today!

Send me the books I have checked:

☐ Life or Death, $12.50
☐ Life or Death, $7.95pb
☐ Psychology of Death, $9.95
☐ Soviet Ed., $9.95
☐ Soviet Ed., $5.95pb

Payment of $_____ enclosed. (Add 65¢ for postage and handling each book. In N.Y., add sales tax.)

Name _____

Address _____

City, State _____ Zip _____

SPRINGER PUBLISHING COMPANY
200 Park Ave. South, New York, N.Y. 10003

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IMPACT!

THE National Office for Black Catholics has had to cut its programs and services because of lack of funds. It seeks help through (1) Subscriptions to its bi-monthly, *Impact!* ($2.50 a year) and (2) Sales of its two-record album, "Freeing the Spirit" ($4.07 postpaid): "Hear the joyous hand-clapping rhythms of the gospel sounds; the poignant and hauntingly beautiful strains of the Negro spiritual; the cool and intricate phrasings of contemporary jazz; the sublime and majestic sound of Baroque and Renaissance music which have been part of the rich and enduring Roman Catholic liturgy for hundreds of years." Order from the NATIONAL OFFICE FOR BLACK CATHOLICS, 1234 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Suite 1004, Washington, D.C. 20005.

Classified

RATES: 60c a word, one time; 57c, three times; 54c, seven times; 51c, thirteen times, Twelve words minimum. For box numbers add 50c per insertion. Classified payable with order; monthly in advance for more than three times. COMMONWEAL, 232 Madison Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016.

International Study

LOW-COST SUMMER PROGRAM IN EUROPE: Combine college credit with culture, fun, and travel. One and two-month courses in July and August. Write: INTERNATIONAL STUDY PROGRAM, Route 3, Box 43, Schulenburg, Texas 78956.

Institutes

BIBLICAL INSTITUTE, Trinity College, Burlington, Vermont 05401, June 20-25. Ahern, Duncker, Collins, N. Lapp, Murphy-O'Connor. Write: Director.

SACRED SCRIPTURE: Eighth Annual Institute, August 8-13, 1976. Revs. R. A. F. MacKenzie, John R. Donahue, Sr. M. Ann Michelle Shay. Write Sister Marianna, College Misericordia, Dallas, Pa. 18612.

Concerned

DIGNITY, national organization of gay and concerned Catholics, working for more informed theology and pastoral approach to sexuality. Write: DIGNITY, 755 Boylston St., Room 514, Boston, Mass. 02116.

Poetry Markets

PUBLISH YOUR POEMS. Current list of markets, 20 pages offset, $2.50. LYF-AX, Box 1872, Milwaukee, Wis. 53201.

fun and hard work, or the new Gramp of hardened arteries and fanciful illusions, or of both? It is hard to say. The spare text and unsparing photographs of this book, taken by a family that was in the habit of photographing one another, offer no easy resolution. Like the portraits of *Dying*, they provoke our thought and purge our fears.

● ● ● ● ● ● ● ● ●

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 227)

with Christ as many liberals tended to do, or strut the fact that "we" Catholics finally had a President from a large ideal Catholic family, as the more conservative liked to brag. Stupidly (I suppose) I wondered why we who were pinching pennies to send our children to Catholic schools were warned that we were in danger of hell-fire if we ceased the struggle and took them out, while the Kennedys who could well afford it attended secular schools.

One editor of a small secular newspaper lambasted the newsmen who reported "The Kennedy Affairs" calling them sneaks and gossip mongers, etc. He stated that *"those who are involved in the world of theatre and politics live in different worlds and judge and are judged by their peers in a different context, as far as sexual standards are concerned, than you and I. Putting it in the news media only serves to further weaken our belief in our fellow man."* So now we know why the priest who formerly ranted about the good ole days and the "shacking up" of today's wayward youths is strangely silent in the pulpit when the rich or famous are discovered to be no better—this is the type of illusion that must be preserved—"it is enough if a man is powerful, talented, and well-liked Catholic." Leave the practice of the old-fashioned virtues up to the nondescript. And weird as it may sound many of the nondescript would like it that way too. We all have to have someone to look up to and JFK was a type of God to many. As Steinfels says, "it is risky to write about something on which one cannot claim to have reached a firm opinion." In that context I would like to express the personal opinion that the upheaval in the Catholic church, rising crime, our national crisis of inflation, energy, etc. stems from the fact that the powerful and wealthy were the real foundation of the Church and nation and when they failed to give even a small percent, spiritually and materially, back to humanity, the neglected (people or institutions) weighed too heavily and the crumbling process began.

ALBERTA I. FREESE

Death in Brazil

New York, N.Y.

To the Editors: The assertion in my "Brazil: The Struggle for Human Rights" [December 19, 1975] that the late journalist, Vladimir Herzog, was "an almost certain suicide" was a grievous and inadvertent error on my part. It obviously contradicted the gist of my argument as it certainly did the original Brazilian text I was working from, which referred to "Herzog's putative murder and almost certain *torture*."

Expectedly, the promised and recently published military inquiry into the case concluded that Herzog had taken his own life. But persisting, widespread disbelief throughout Brazil has partially encouraged the victim's widow to file suit this month to make all findings public.

Her initiative may not be entirely unwelcome to President-General Ernesto Geisel: almost simultaneously, he relieved of command São Paulo's two top-ranking Second Army officers, held responsible by popular opinion for Herzog's death.

Do these events support the emerging view that Geisel moderates—adroitly turning the Herzog tragedy to their ad-advantage—have finally chosen to purge hardliners from their midst and get on with the promised return to civil liberties? A January 21st *Washington Post* report, datelined São Paulo, about a steel-worker's killing under interrogation suggests that the restoration of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

human rights has once more taken a tragic route between promise and reality. RALPH DELLA CAVA

Hard Choices

Boston, Mass.

To the Editors: Daniel Maguire and I are too much in agreement on most issues for me to let even a partial disagreement pass unnoticed. With respect to the Karen Quinlan case he correctly dismisses the "life worth living" question as the wrong question, though I would have welcomed some indication on his part that even if it were the right question it would be one that no one—parents, doctors, judges, or even theologians—other than Ms. Quinlan herself would have the right to answer. [Letters, Feb. 13].

Unfortunately he moves from that to place the problem in what I consider to be a clearly less important dimension of the issue. Whatever the "meaning of medicine" may be, it does not deserve priority over concern for human life itself, even "post-personal" or "post-medical" life. Both terms suggest a circularity of reasoning, but my real objection lies in the notion that any human life, however maintained, can be dismissed as "post-personal."

Let me hasten to say that I agree with Maguire's central position that there is no *obligation* to resort to extraordinary means to sustain life in such clearly hopeless cases. At the same time I am troubled by the whole school of thought which suggests that there is no *justification* for doing so. Usually this is the point where the "life not worth living" argument enters in, an approach which rests upon a basic shift of concern from the incapacitated person (who, we are told, is totally unaware of her state or anything else) to those others around her whose sensibilities or sentiments are strained by the mere observation of her state. When the arguments for termination of life are couched in monetary terms, which is all too often the case, the case for "pulling the plug" assumes more than a hint of danger not only in the context of Judeo-Christian values but traditional humanistic values as well.

What should govern cases like these is the principle of triage, properly applied. Thus, *if* the equipment now being used to maintain Karen Quinlan's vestigial life is needed by some other patient with a more promising prognosis, then it would be possible to argue that the plug *should* be pulled. Even the expense argument could take on validity if it can be shown that the cost of apparently hopeless efforts would drain a family's resources to the point of endangering the right of other members to that "life worth living." Once again, I do not agree with those who would insist that such extraordinary measures must be continued. At the same time I am not prepared to say a family or the state authority is wrong if the choice is made to preserve even these vestigial manifestations of human life. Surely such a decision is to be preferred to the vehemence of some (not including Daniel Maguire, let me add) who would argue the reverse and demand that someone else's life which does not meet their standards of a "life worth living" be brought to an end. GORDON C. ZAHN

BERNARD BERGONZI, British critic and professor of English at the University of Warwick, is the author of *Hero's Twilight, The Situation of the Novel* and *T.S. Eliot.*

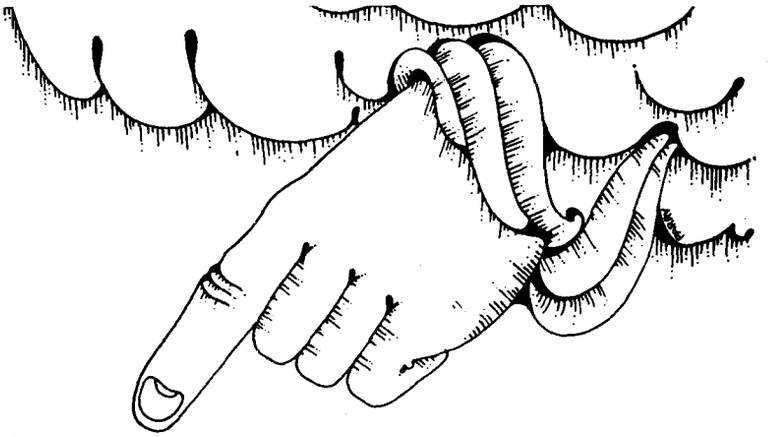
NORRIS MERCHANT lectures on philosophy and comparative religion at Cooper Union and Hofstra University.

WAYNE ANDREWS, Archives of American Art Professor at Wayne State University, is the author of *American Gothic.*

DENNIS VELLUCCI served as a student intern at *Commonweal* in 1975.

The annual collection plus a special Lenten program of prayer, sacrifice and almsgiving in preparation for the 41st International Eucharistic Congress:
OPERATION RICE BOWL
HELP!
AMERICAN CATHOLIC OVERSEAS AID APPEAL
(Bishops' Welfare, Emergency and Relief Fund)
1011 FIRST AVE., NEW YORK, N. Y. 10022

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Out of the many, only 41 have been chosen.

Of the 30,004 books published last year, just 41 have been nominated for the

1976 NATIONAL BOOK AWARDS

Administered by the National Institute of Arts and Letters.

Only one winner will be named for each of the 6 categories. All winners will be announced on April 19th and a ceremony will be held at the National Institute of Arts and Letters, 633 West 155th Street, on April 21st. Each winning author will receive a prize of $1000 in recognition of outstanding achievement.

POETRY

SELF-PORTRAIT IN A CONVEX MIRROR / John Ashbery (Viking Press)
WHAT THOU LOVEST WELL, REMAINS AMERICAN / Richard Hugo (W.W. Norton)
THE LIFE BESIDE THIS ONE / John N. Morris (Atheneum)
D.C. IMAGES / P.J. Laska (Appalachian Press/Mountain Union Books)
RETURNING YOUR CALL / Leonard Nathan (Princeton Univ. Press)
COLLECTED POEMS / George Oppen (New Directions)
HOW I GOT OVAH: New and Selected Poems / Carolyn M. Rodgers (Anchor Press/Doubleday)
THE PEACOCK POEMS / Shirley Williams (Wesleyan Univ. Press)

CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

TO THE GREEN MOUNTAINS / Eleanor Cameron (E.P. Dutton)
BERT BREEN'S BARN / Walter D. Edmonds (Little, Brown)
AS I WAS CROSSING BOSTON COMMON / Norma Farber (E.P. Dutton)
OF LOVE AND DEATH AND OTHER JOURNEYS / Isabelle Holland (J.B. Lippincott)
THE STAR IN THE PAIL / David McCord (Little, Brown)
EL BRONX REMEMBERED: A Novella and Stories / Nicholasa Mohr (Harper & Row)
LUDELL / Brenda Wilkinson (Harper & Row)

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

THE PROBLEM OF SLAVERY IN THE AGE OF REVOLUTION: 1770-1823 / David Brion Davis (Cornell Univ. Press)
LAMY OF SANTA FE: His Life and Times / Paul Horgan (Farrar, Straus & Giroux)
EDITH WHARTON: A Biography / R.W.B. Lewis (Harper & Row)
RECASTING BOURGEOIS EUROPE: Stabilization in France, Germany, and Italy in the Decade after World War I / Charles S. Maier (Princeton Univ. Press)
AMERICAN SLAVERY AMERICAN FREEDOM: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia / Edmund S. Morgan (W.W. Norton)
RUSSIA UNDER THE OLD REGIME / Richard Pipes (Charles Scribner's Sons)
CHARLES IVES AND HIS AMERICA / Frank R. Rossiter (Liveright)
A WORLD DESTROYED: The Atomic Bomb and the Grand Alliance / Martin J. Sherwin (Alfred A. Knopf)

FICTION

HUMBOLDT'S GIFT / Saul Bellow (Viking Press)
THE COLLECTED STORIES / Hortense Calisher (Arbor House)
JR / William Gaddis (Alfred A. Knopf)
OTHER PEOPLE'S LIVES / Johanna Kaplan (Alfred A. Knopf)
TYRANTS DESTROYED AND OTHER STORIES / Vladimir Nabokov (McGraw-Hill)
BEYOND THE BEDROOM WALL: A Family Album / Larry Woiwode (Farrar, Straus & Giroux)

ARTS & LETTERS

THE GREAT WAR AND MODERN MEMORY / Paul Fussell (Oxford Univ. Press)
NIJINSKY DANCING / Lincoln Kirstein (Alfred A. Knopf)
THE HOLOCAUST AND THE LITERARY IMAGINATION / Lawrence L. Langer (Yale Univ. Press)
MODERN PAINTING AND THE NORTHERN ROMANTIC TRADITION: Friedrich to Rothko / Robert Rosenblum (Harper & Row)
THE FEMALE IMAGINATION / Patricia Meyer Spacks (Alfred A. Knopf)
MICHELANGELO'S LAST PAINTINGS: The Conversion of St. Paul and the Crucifixion of St. Peter in the Cappella Paolina, Vatican Palace / Leo Steinberg (Oxford Univ. Press)

CONTEMPORARY AFFAIRS

PASSAGE TO ARARAT / Michael J. Arlen (Farrar, Straus & Giroux)
GLOBAL REACH: The Power of the Multinational Corporations / Richard J. Barnet & Ronald E. Muller (Simon & Schuster)
PYRAMIDS OF SACRIFICE: Political Ethics and Social Change / Peter L. Berger (Basic Books)
MONEY: Whence It Came, Where It Went / John Kenneth Galbraith (Houghton Mifflin)
MINAMATA / W. Eugene Smith & Aileen M. Smith (Alskog Sensorium Book / Holt, Rinehart & Winston)
A TIME TO DIE / Tom Wicker (Quadrangle / The New York Times Book Co.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED